UNCL
P831

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BOOK CARD

Please keep this card in
book pocket

IVER-CROMWELL-S-K
PI TIAL TITLE

THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF
NORTH CAROLINA

LUX
LIBERTAS

ENDOWED BY THE
DIALECTIC AND PHILANTHROPIC
SOCIETIES

PR4420
.F 05
v. 12

This book is due at the LOUIS R. WILSON LIBRARY on the last date stamped under "Date Due." If not on hold it may be renewed by bringing it to the library.

DATE DUE	RET.	DATE DUE	RET.
Form No. 513			

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2015

https://archive.org/details/thomascarlyleswo12carl

THOMAS CARLYLE'S WORKS
The Standard Edition
IN 18 VOLUMES
VOLUME XII

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

VOLUME III.

Charles II.

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS & SPEECHES

PR4430
.F05
V.12

With Elucidations

By THOMAS CARLYLE

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME III.

WITH PORTRAIT

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY

NEW YORK

1905

CONTENTS OF VOLUME III.

PART VIII.—*Continued.*

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT. 1654.

PAGE

SPEECH III. To the First Protectorate Parliament, 12 Sept. 1654 3

Cannot have the Foundations of Government submitted to debate in this Assembly. A free Parliament they; but he also, in virtue of whom they sit, must be an unquestioned Protector. His history since he entered on these Public Struggles; Dismissal of the Long Parliament; Abdication of the Little Parliament; Protectorship, on what founded, by whom acknowledged. To proceed no farther, till they acknowledge it.

LETTER CXCVI. To R. Bennet, Esq.: Whitehall, 12 Jan. 1654-5 29

Virginia and Maryland.

„ CXCVII. To Captain Crook: Whitehall, 20 Jan. 1654-5 30

To watch Adjutant-Gen. Allen.

SPEECH IV. Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament, 22 Jan. 1654-5 34

Regrets that they have not communicated with him: *he* was not unconcerned with them; has been struggling and endeavouring for them, keeping Peace round them;—does not know, on their part, whether they have been alive or dead. Of trees that foster only things poisonous under their shadow. Of disturbances, once well asleep, awakened into new perilous activity during these debates. Necessary that they be dissolved.

uncl
P831

PART IX.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS. 1655-56.

PAGE

CHRONOLOGICAL 59

LETTER CXCVIII. To Gen. Blake: Whitehall, 13 June 1655 . 67
The Dey of Tunis. Instructions.

" CXCIX. To Lord Fleetwood: Whitehall, 22 June 1655 70
By the Rev. Mr. Brewster. Henry Cromwell gone to Ireland. Private feelings.

" CC. To Mr. Secretary Thurloe: Whitehall, 28 July 1655 73
A Scholar for the Charterhouse.

" CCI. To Gen. Blake: Whitehall, 30 July 1655 . 75
Instructions, Not yet to divide the Fleet. Person for Lisbon.

COMPLIMENT, Swedish Ambassador 76

LETTER CCII. To Gen. Blake: Whitehall, 13 Sept. 1655 . 78
Plate Fleet.

" CCIII. To Maryland Commissioners: Whitehall, 26 Sept. 1655 79
Virginia and Maryland.

JAMAICA 83

LETTER CCIV. To Vice-Admiral Goodson: Whitehall, Oct. 1655 86
Of Jamaica:—This and the Two following.

" CCV. To D. Serle, Esq.: Whitehall, Oct. 1655 . 89

" CCVI. To Major-Gen. Fortescue: Whitehall, Nov. 1655 90

" CCVII. To Henry Cromwell: Whitehall, 21 Nov. 1655 94
The Disaffected in Ireland.

" CCVIII. To the same: Whitehall, 21 April 1656 . 98
Fatherly Advices and Encouragements.

PAGE

LETTER CCIX. To Generals Blake and Montague: Whitehall, 28 April 1656 100

By Captain Lloyd. Suggestions: Cadiz, Puntal, Gibraltar.

„ CCX. To the same: Whitehall, 6 May 1656 . . 102

Claims on Portugal.

„ CCXI. To Gresham Committee: Whitehall, 9 May 1656 105

Geometry Professor.

„ CCXII. To Richard Cromwell: Whitehall, 29 May 1656 106

Can sell Newhall.

„ CCXIII. To Henry Cromwell: Whitehall, 26 Aug. 1656 110

Dangers in Ireland.

„ CCXIV. To Generals Blake and Montague: Whitehall, 28 Aug. 1656 113

Montague to come home and advise.

SPEECH V. Meeting of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 17 Sept. 1656 117

Our difficulties: Spain, and why we have gone to war with Spain; Papists, Cavaliers, Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists;—the need there was of Major-Generals. Our remedies: To prosecute the War with vigour; to maintain steadily the aim of all these struggles, Liberty of Conscience and a pure Gospel Ministry; to reform the Law:—to reform Manners; that will be the grand remedy of all. Finance. Exhortation; Divine encouragement and hope: Eighty-fifth Psalm.

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT. 1657-58.

LETTER CCXV. To the Mayor of Newcastle: Whitehall, 18 Dec. 1656 157

Presbyterians and Independents.

„ CCXVI. To Card. Mazarin: Whitehall, 26 Dec. 1656 159

Quarrel between Charles Stuart and his Brother.

PAGE

SPEECH VI. To the Second Protectorate Parliament, 23 Jan. 1656-7 162

Thanks for their Congratulation on the failure of Sindercomb's Plot.

KINGSHIP 169

LETTER CCXVII. To the same Parliament: Whitehall, 25 Dec. 1656 172

Case of James Nayler.

SPEECH VII. To the Second Protectorate Parliament, 31 March 1657 176

Reception of their Petition and Advice with their Offer of the Title of King. Returns pious thanks; craves time to consider; will then answer.

„ VIII. To a Committee of the same Parliament, 3 April 1657 178

Answers with praise as to the Petition and Advice generally, but as to the Title of King, with distinct though not emphatic No.

„ IX. To the same Parliament, 8 April 1657 . . . 181

Would state his Doubts, if there were Opportunity given,—if there were some Conference, or the like, appointed.

„ X. Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine in regard to the Title of King, 11 April 1657 . 187

Difficulty as to how they shall proceed in this matter of Conferring.

„ XI. Second Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine in regard to the Title of King, 13 April 1657 197

Endeavours to rebut their arguments, used in the former Conference, in favour of the Title. Not of necessity; at best only of expediency or advantage. John Hampden and the Ironsides. Leaves the matter undecided: Conference to be renewed.

„ XII. Third Conference with the same, 20 April 1657 . 212

Replies to their argument drawn from Law; contends that whatever Title they, the Parliament, establish, be it that of Protector or another, will be Law. For the rest, the matter not an essential; unimportant in comparison with others in this New Instrument of Government,—to which others let us rather address ourselves. Conference to be renewed on the morrow.

PAGE

SPEECH XIII. Fourth Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine, 21 April 1657 219

Animadverts on various Articles of the Petition and Advice, or New Instrument, which seem to require reconsideration: leaves that of the Kingship unmeddled with.

„ XIV. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8 May 1657 249

Briefly refuses the Title of King.

„ XV. To the same Parliament, 9 June 1657, on the Presentation of some Bills for assent . . 253

Thanks for their Supplies of Money, as the custom is.

LETTER CCXVIII. To Gen. Blake: Whitehall, 10 June 1657 . 254

Jewel for the Victory at Santa Cruz.

„ CCXIX. To Gen. Montague: Whitehall, 11 Aug. 1657. 257

Order to sail.

„ CCXX. To J. Dunch, Esq.: Hampton Court, 27 Aug. 1657 257

To call at Hampton Court.

„ CCXXI. To Gen. Montague: Hampton Court, 30 Aug. 1657 258

In sanction of his treatment of the Dutch ships.

„ CCXXII. To Sir W. Lockhart: Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1657 259

Mardike and Dunkirk. Peremptory: To bring Mazarin to the point.

„ CCXXIII. To the same: same date . . 262

Same subject.

„ CCXXIV. To Gen. Montague: Whitehall, 2 Oct. 1657 . 263

Christian Denokson to strengthen Mardike.

SPEECH XVI. To the Two Houses of Parliament; Opening of the Second Session of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 20 Jan. 1657-8 269

Reasons for thankfulness in such a Meeting: Religious Liberty, the great object of our struggles, gained, and in the way of being made secure; Peace hitherto; a Godly Ministry. Understand the works of God, what God has done for you;—and persevere and prosper.

PAGE

SPEECH XVII. To the Two Houses of Parliament; the Commons having raised debates as to the Title of the other House, 25 Jan. 1657-8 . . . 276

Perils of the Nation; perils of the Protestant Interest in Europe at large; pressing need there is of unanimity. Exhortation and Remonstrance: Do not sacrifice great vital interests for titles and niceties.

„ XVIII. Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 4 Feb. 1657-8 294

What he might have expected in this Meeting of Parliament; what he has found in it: Angry debating; and the Nation on the verge of conflagration thereby. Dissolves the Parliament.

LETTER CCXXV. To Sir W. Lockhart: Whitehall, 26 May 1658 303

Protestants of the Valleys.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR 311

APPENDIX.

NO.

1. LETTER TO DOWNHALL 323
2. AT ELY 325
3. LETTER TO CAMBRIDGE, WITH 'PROTESTATION' AND 'PREAMBLE' 327
4. EASTERN ASSOCIATION: THREATENED RISING OF PAPISTS IN NORFOLK 331
5. GAINSBOROUGH FIGHT 333
6. LETTER TWO DAYS PRIOR TO THAT CAMBRIDGE ONE . . 339
7. TWO LETTERS: ACTION AT ISLIP-BRIDGE AND BLETCHINGTON. DITTO AT BAMPTON-IN-THE-BUSH 340
8. BATTLE OF NASEBY. BURIAL OF COLONEL PICKERING. TWO LETTERS CONCERNING ELY 344
9. LANGPORT BATTLE. SUMMONS TO WINCHESTER . . . 348
10. ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647 351
11. WELSH DISTURBANCES IN 1648 354
12. LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE AFTER PRESTON BATTLE 358

NO.		PAGE
13.	Letter to Derby-House Committee: March into Scotland, 1648	360
14.	Letter in behalf of Young Cholmely	363
15.	Correspondence with the Mayor of Waterford	364
16.	Exchange of Prisoners: Renegado Wogan	368
17.	Ireland: Arrangements for the Administration of Justice there	370
18.	Ireland: Operations in Tipperary	373
19.	Haselrig and Dunbar Battle	374
20.	Four Letters to the Speaker in behalf of individual Military Gentlemen, and their Claims	376
20*.	Letter to Major Harrison	380
21.	March to Worcester	382
22.	After Worcester Battle: Letters to the Speaker	383
23.	Letter to Sister Elizabeth	385
24.	Letter to the Committee for Sequestrations, in behalf of Mr. and Mrs. Fincham	386
25.	To Oxford and Cambridge	387
26.	Letter to Lord Wharton about Henry Cromwell's Marriage	390
27.	Scraps from 1653	392
28.	From 1654-1655: Vowel's Plot; Rectory of Houghton Conquest; Penruddock's Plot; Letter to the Poet Waller; New England	396
29.	Suffolk Yeomanry	407
30.	Speech should-be 'XV.'	409
31.	From 1657. Last Royalist Plot	411
32.	Two Mandates to Cambridge University	415

Index to the Three Volumes 419

Portrait of Charles II. . . . . *Frontispiece*

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES:

WITH ELUCIDATIONS.

PART VIII.

Continued.

FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1654.

SPEECH III.

This First Protectorate Parliament, we said, was not successful. It chose, judiciously enough, old Lenthall for Speaker; appointed, judiciously enough, a Day of general Fasting:—but took, directly after that, into constitutional debate about Sanctioning the Form of Government (which nobody was specially asking it to 'sanction'); about Parliament and Single Person; powers of Single Person and of Parliament; Coördination, Subordination; and other bottomless subjects;—in which getting always the deeper the more it puddled in them, inquiry or intimation of inquiry rose not obscurely in the distance, Whether this Government should *be* by a Parliament and Single Person? These things the honourable gentlemen, with true industry, debated in Grand Committee, 'from eight in the morning till eight at night, with an hour for refreshment about noon,' debates waxing ever hotter, question ever more abstruse,—through Friday, Saturday, Monday; ready, if Heaven spared them, to debate it farther for unlimited days. Constitutional Presbyterian persons, Use-and-wont Neuters; not without a spicing of sour Republicans, as Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott, to keep the batch in leaven.

His Highness naturally perceived that this would never do, not this;—sent therefore to the Lord Mayor, late on Monday night I think, to look after the peace of the City; to Speaker Lenthall, that he must bring his people to the Painted Chamber before going farther: and early on Tuesday morning, poor Mr. Guibon Goddard, Member for Lynn, just about to proceed again, from the Eastern parts, towards his sublime constitutional day's-work, is overwhelmed by rumours, 'That the Parliament is dis-'solved; that, for certain, the Council of State, and a Council of War, 'had sat together all the Sabbath-day before, and had then contrived this 'Dissolution!'

'Notwithstanding,' continues Guibon, 'I was resolved to go to West-'minster, to satisfy myself of the truth; and to take my share of what I 'should see or learn there. Going by water to Westminster, I was told 'that the Parliament-doors were locked up, and guarded with soldiers, and 'that the Barges were to attend the Protector to the Painted Chamber.

'As I went, I saw two Barges at the Privy Stairs.' River and City in considerable emotion. 'Being come to the Hall, I was confirmed in what 'I had heard. Nevertheless I did purpose not to take things merely 'upon trust; but would receive an actual repulse, to confirm my faith. 'Accordingly, I attempted up the Parliament stairs; but a guard of 'Soldiers was there, who told me, "There was no passage that way; the 'House was locked up, and command given to give no admittance to any; '—if I were a Member, I might go into the Painted Chamber, where the 'Protector would presently be." The Mace had been taken away by 'Commissary-General Whalley. The Speaker and all the Members were 'walking up and down the Hall, the Court of Requests, and the Painted 'Chamber; expecting the Protector's coming. The passages there likewise 'were guarded with soldiers.'[1]

No doubt about it, therefore, my honourable friend! Dissolution, or something, is not far. Between nine and ten, the Protector arrived, with due escort of Officers, halberts, Life-guards; took his place, covered, under 'the state' as before, we all sitting bareheaded on our benches as before; and with fit salutation spake to us;—as follows. 'Speech of an hour and a half long;' taken in characters by the former individual who 'stood near;' audible still to modern men. Tuesday morning 12th September 1654; a week and a day since the last Speech here.

In this remarkable Speech, the occasion of which and the Speaker of which are very extraordinary, an assiduous reader, or 'modern hearer,' will find Historical indications, significant shadowings-forth both of the Protectorate and the Protector; which, considering whence they come, he will not fail to regard as documentary in those matters. Nay perhaps, here for the first time, if he read with real industry, there may begin to paint itself for him, on the void Dryasdust Abyss, hitherto called History of Oliver, some dim adumbration of How this business of Assuming the Protectorate may actually have been. It was, many years ago, in reading these Speeches, with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavour to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present Editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Rebellion generally, first began to be conceivable. Such was his experience.—

But certainly the Lord Protector's place, that September Tuesday 1654, is not a bed of roses! His painful asseverations, appeals and assurances have made the Modern part of his audience look, more than once, with questioning eyes. On this point, take from a certain Commentator sometimes above cited from, and far oftener suppressed, the following rough words:

'"Divers persons who do know whether I lie in that," says the Lord

[1] Ayscough MSS., printed in *Burton's Diary*, i. Introd. p. xxxiii.

'Protector. What a position for a hero, to be reduced continually to say 'He does not lie!—Consider well, nevertheless, What else could Oliver 'do? To get on with this new Parliament was clearly his one chance of 'governing peaceably. To wrap himself up in stern pride, and refuse to 'give any explanation: would that have been the wise plan of dealing 'with them? Or the stately and not-so-wise plan? Alas, the *wise* plan, 'when all lay yet as an experiment, with so dread issues in it to yourself 'and the whole world, was not very discoverable. Perhaps not quite 'reconcilable with the *stately* plan, even if it had been discovered!'

And again, with regard to the scheme of the Protectorship, which his Highness says was done by "the Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government," after divers days consulting, and without the least privity of his: 'You never guessed what they were doing, your Highness? Alas, 'his Highness guessed it,—and yet must not say, or think, he guessed it. 'There is something sad in a brave man's being reduced to explain 'himself from a barrel-head in this manner! Yet what, on the whole, 'will he do? Coriolanus curled his lip, and scowled proudly enough 'on the sweet voices: but Coriolanus had likewise to go over to the 'Volscians; Coriolanus had not the slightest chance to govern by 'a free Parliament in Rome! Oliver was not prepared for these 'extremities; if less would serve. Perhaps in Oliver there is something 'of better than "silent pride"? Oliver will have to explain himself 'before God Most High, ere long;—and it will not stead him there, that 'he went wrong because his pride, his "personal dignity," his &c. &c. 'were concerned.——Who would govern men! "Oh, it were better to be 'a poor fisherman," exclaimed Danton, "than to meddle with governing 'of men!" "I would rather keep a flock of sheep!" said Oliver. And 'who but a Flunky would not, if his real trade lay in keeping sheep?'—

On the whole, concludes our Commentator: 'As good an explanation 'as the case admits of,—from a barrel-head, or "raised platform under a 'state." Where so much that is true cannot be said; and yet nothing 'that is false shall be said,—under penalties forgotten in our Time! 'With regard to those asseverations and reiterated appeals, note this also: 'An oath was an oath then; not a solemn piece of blasphemous cant, as 'too often since. No *contemporary* that I have met with, who had any 'opportunity to judge, disbelieved Oliver in these protestations; though 'many believed that he was unconsciously deceiving himself. Which, 'of course, we too, where needful, must ever remember that he was liable 'to do; nay, if you will, that he was continually doing. But to this 'Commentator, at this stage in the development of things, "Apology' 'seems not the word for Oliver Cromwell;—not that, but a far other 'word! The Modern part of his Highness's audience can listen now, I 'think, across the Time-gulfs, in a different mood;—with candour, with 'human brotherhood, with reverence and grateful love. Such as the

'noble never claim in vain from those that have any nobleness. This of 'tasking a great soul continually to prove to us that he was not a liar, 'is too unwashed a way of welcoming a Great Man! Scrubby Apprentices 'of tender years, to them it might seem suitable;—still more readily to 'Apes by the Dead Sea!' Let us have done with it, my friend; and listen to the Speech itself, of date, Painted Chamber, 12th September 1654, the best we can!

GENTLEMEN,

It is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave me much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have now to say to you will need no preamble, to let me into my discourse: for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished with all my heart there had been no cause for it.

At our former meeting I did acquaint you what was the first rise of this Government, which hath called you hither, and by the authority of which you have come hither. Among other things which I then told you of, I said, You were a Free Parliament. And 'truly' so you are,—whilst you own the Government and Authority which called you hither. But certainly that word 'Free Parliament' implied a reciprocity,[2] or it implied nothing at all! Indeed there was a reciprocity implied and expressed; and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable! But I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my Office. Which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since I first entered upon my Office, If God will not bear it up, let it sink! [*Yea!*] But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure necessitated thereunto. And therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse.

I called not myself to this place. I say again, I called not myself to this place! Of that God is witness:—and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could lay down their lives bearing witness to the truth of that. Namely, That I called not myself to this place! [*His Highness is growing emphatic.*] And being in it, I bear not witness to myself 'or my office;' but God and the People of these Nations have also borne testimony to it 'and me.' *If* my calling be from God, and my testimony from the People,—God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. [*Do you*

[2] 'reciprocation' in orig.

mark that, and the air and manner of it, my honourable friends!] I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these Nations, if I did.

"That I called not myself to this place," is my first assertion. "That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses," is my second. These two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of.—To make plain and clear what I have here asserted, I must take liberty to look 'a little' back.

I was by birth a Gentleman; living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity. I have been called to several employments in the Nation: To serve in Parliament, 'and others;' and, —not to be over-tedious,—I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man, in those services, to God and His People's Interest, and to the Commonwealth; having, when time was, a competent acceptation in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve, not to recite the times and occasions and opportunities, which have been appointed me by God to serve Him in; nor the presence and blessings of God therein bearing testimony to me. [*Well said, and well forborne to be said!*]

Having had some occasions to see, together with my brethren and countrymen, a happy period put to our sharp Wars and contests with the then common Enemy, I hoped, in a private capacity, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards: the enjoyment, to wit, of Peace and Liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and a Man, in some equality with others, according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our Wars, or at least brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end,—after Worcester Fight,—I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament which then sat: hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer what seemed to be the mind of God, namely, To give peace and rest to His People, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying-on of the Military affairs,—I was much disappointed of my expectation. For the issue did not prove so. [*Suppressed murmurs from Bradshaw and Company.*] Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, it was not so, not so!

I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not, I love not,— I declined it in my former Speech,[3]—I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses! The thing I drive at is this: I

[3] Antea, Speech I. vol. ii. p. 259.

say to you, I hoped to have had leave, 'for my own part,' to retire to a private life. I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again;—and God be Judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter! [*Groans from Dryasdust, scarcely audible, in the deep silence.*] That I lie not in matter of fact is known to very many ["*Hum-m-m!*" *Look of "Yea!" from the Military Party*]: but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you what was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be Judge.[4] Let uncharitable men, who measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say, It is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire,—I do appeal as before upon the truth of that also!——But I could not obtain 'what I desired,' what my soul longed for. And the plain truth is, I did afterwards apprehend some were of opinion (such the difference of their judgment from mine), That it could not well be.[5]

I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true, of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a Member, To period themselves;—once and again, and again, and ten, nay twenty times over. I told them,—for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it; because of my manner of life, which had led me everywhere up and down the Nation,[6] thereby giving me to see and know the temper and spirits of all men, and of the best of men,—that the Nation loathed their sitting. [*Haselrig, Scott and others looking very grim.*] I knew it. And, so far as I could discern, when they *were* dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it! [*How astonishing there should not have been!*] You are not a few here present who can assert this as well as myself.

And that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident: not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it 'actually' was their design. 'Yes;' had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there never would have been 'any' thoughts of rising, or of going out of that Room, to the world's end. I myself was sounded, and, by no mean persons [*O Sir Harry Vane!*], tempted; and proposals were made me to that

[4] He: Believe *you* about that as you see good.

[5] That I could not be spared from my post.

[6] While soldiering, &c.: the original has, 'which was to run up and down the Nation.'

very end: That the Parliament[7] might be thus perpetuated; that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections;—and so continue from generation to generation.

I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you. [*What noble man would not, your Highness?*] But, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you 'this also:' That poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven, like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning; to the confiscation of goods and estates; without any man being able to give a reason why two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling![8] I tell you the truth. And my soul, and many persons' whom I see in this place, were exceedingly grieved at these things; and knew not which way to help them, except by our mournings, and giving our negatives when occasion served.—I have given you but a taste of miscarriages 'that then were.' I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them; for nothing was more obvious. It's true this will be said, That there was a remedy endeavoured: To put an end to this Perpetual Parliament, by giving us a future Representative. How that was gotten, by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known.

'But,' what *was* this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to give us Successive Parliaments. And what was 'the nature of' that Succession? It was, That when one Parliament had left its seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid what was the real danger, namely, Perpetuating of the same 'men in' Parliaments. Which is a sore, now, that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome,—if a remedy be not found.

Nay, at best what will such a remedy amount to? It is a conversion of a Parliament that would have been and was Perpetual, to a Legislative Power Always Sitting! [*Which, however, consists of different men, your Highness!*] And so the liberties and interests and lives of people *not* judged by any certain known Laws and Power, but by an arbitrary Power; which is incident and necessary to Parliaments. [*So!*] By an arbitrary Power, I say:[9] to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonment,—sometimes 'even' by laws made after the fact committed; often by the Parliament's assuming to itself to give judgment both in capital and criminal things, which in former times was not known

[7] 'it' in orig. [8] Antea, vol. ii. p. 238.

[9] Such as the Long Parliament did continually exert.

to exercise such a judicature.[10] This, I suppose, was the case 'then before us.' And, in my opinion, the remedy was fitted to the disease! Especially coming in the rear of a Parliament which had so exercised its power and authority as that Parliament had done but immediately before.

Truly I confess,—upon these grounds, and with the satisfaction of divers other persons who saw nothing could be had otherwise,—that Parliament was dissolved [*Not a doubt of it!*]: and we, desiring to see if a few might have been called together for some short time who might put the Nation into some way of certain settlement,—did call those Gentlemen [*The Little Parliament; we remember them!*] out of the several parts of the Nation. And as I have appealed to God before you already,[11]—though it be a tender thing to make appeals to God, yet in such exigences as these I trust it will not offend His Majesty; especially to make them before Persons that know God, and know what conscience is, and what it is to "lie before the Lord"! I say, As a principal end in calling that Assembly was the settlement of the Nation, so a chief end to myself was to lay down the Power which was in my hands. [*Humm-m!*] I say to you again, in the Presence of that God who hath blessed, and been with me in all my adversities and successes: That was, as to myself, my greatest end! [*Your Highness—?—And "God" with you ancients is not a fabulous polite Hearsay, but a tremendous all-irradiating Fact of Facts, not to be "lied before" without consequences?*] A desire perhaps, I am afraid, sinful enough, To be quit of the Power God had most clearly by His Providence[12]

[10] Intricate paragraphs, this and the foregoing; treating of a subject complex in itself, and very delicate to handle before such an audience. His Highness's logic perhaps hobbles somewhat: but this strain of argument, which to us has fallen so dim and obsolete, was very familiar to the audience he was now addressing,—the staple indeed of what their debates for the last three days had been (Burton, i. Introd. pp. 25-33; Whitlocke, p. 587, &c.). 'Perpetuating of the same men in Parliament:' that clearly is intolerable, says the first Paragraph. But not only so, says the second Paragraph, 'a Legislative Assembly always sitting,' though it consist of new men, is likewise intolerable: any Parliament, as the Long Parliament has too fatally taught us, if left to itself, is, by its nature, arbitrary, of unlimited power, liable to grow tyrannous;—ought therefore only to sit at due intervals, and to have other Powers (Protectorate, for example) ready to check it on occasion. All this the ancient audience understands very well; and the modern needs only to understand that they understood it.

[11] 'I know, and I hope I may say it,' follows in orig.,—deleted here, for light's sake, though characteristic.

[12] 'most providentially' in orig.: has not the modern meaning; means only as in the Text.

put into my hands, before He called me to lay it down; before those honest ends of our fighting were attained and settled.—I say, the Authority I had in my hand being so boundless as it was, —for, by Act of Parliament, I was General of all the Forces in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland; in which unlimited condition I did not desire to live a day,—we called that Meeting, for the ends before expressed.

What the event and issue of that Meeting was, we may sadly remember. It hath much teaching in it,[13] and I hope will make us all wiser for the future! But, 'in short,' that Meeting not succeeding, as I already said unto you, and giving such a disappointment to our hopes, I shall not now make any repetition thereof: only the result was, That they came and brought to me a Parchment, signed by very much the major part of them; expressing their re-delivery and resignation of the power and authority that had been committed them back again into my hands. And I can say it, in the presence of divers persons here, who do know whether I lie in that [*Hum-m-m!*], That I did not know one tittle of that Resignation 'of theirs,' till they all came and brought it, and delivered it into my hands. Of this also there are in this presence many witnesses. [*Yes, many are convinced of it,—some not.*] I received this Resignation; having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together. Observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union. But it had the effect I told you; and I had my disappointment.

When this proved so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My 'own' Power was again, by this resignation, 'become' as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness; and myself, 'the only constituted authority that was left,' a person having power over the three Nations, without bound or limit set;—and all Government, upon the matter, being dissolved; all *civil* administration at an end,[14]— as will presently appear. ["*A grave situation: but who brought us to it?*" *murmur my Lord Bradshaw and others.*]

The Gentlemen that undertook to frame this Government[15] did consult divers days together (men of known integrity and ability), How to frame somewhat that might give us settlement. They did

[13] Warning us not to quarrel, and get into insoluble theories, as they did.

[14] *Civil* Office-bearers, feeling their commission to be ended.

[15] Plan or Model of Government.

consult;—and that I was not privy to their councils they know it. [*Alas!*]—When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a good preparation of it, they became communicative. [*Hum-m-m!*] They told me that except I would undertake the Government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure or settlement, but blood and confusion would break in upon us. [*A plain truth they told.*] I refused it again and again; not complimentingly,—as they know, and as God knows! I confess, after many arguments, they urging on me, "That I did not hereby "receive anything which put me into a *higher* capacity than before; "but that it *limited* me; that it bound my hands to act nothing "without the consent of a Council, until the Parliament, and then "limited 'me' by the Parliament, as the Act of Government "expresseth,"—I did accept it. I might repeat again to you, if it were needful, but I think it hardly is: I was arbitrary in power; having the Armies in the three Nations under my command;—and truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved by the People. By the good People. And I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things *were*, before God and in themselves, and also before divers of those Gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. [*His Highness is rallying; getting out of the Unutterable into the Utterable!*] I did, at the entreaty of divers Persons of Honour and Quality, at the entreaty of very many of the chief Officers of the Army then present,—'at their entreaty' and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of PROTECTOR: and was, in the presence of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Judges, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Soldiery, divers Gentlemen, Citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, and so forth,—accompanied to Westminster Hall; where I took the Oath to this Government. [*Indisputably: draw your own inferences from it!*] This was not done in a corner: it was open and public!—This Government hath been exercised by a Council;[16] with a desire to be faithful in all things:—and, among all other trusts, to be faithful in *calling this Parliament.*

And thus I have given you a very bare and lean Discourse;[17] which truly I have been necessitated to 'do,'—and contracted in 'the doing of,' because of the unexpectedness of the occasion, and because I would not quite weary you nor myself. But this is a Narrative that discovers to you the series of Providences and of

[16] According to the 'Instrument' or Program of it. [17] Narration.

Transactions leading me into the condition wherein I now stand. The next thing I promised 'to demonstrate to' you, wherein, I hope, I shall be briefer—Though I am sure the occasion does require plainness and freedom!—'But as to this first thing,'[18] That I brought not myself into this condition: surely in my own apprehension I did not! And whether I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I shall submit to your judgment. And there shall I leave it. Let God do what He pleaseth.

The other thing, I say, that I am to speak of to you is, "That I "have not 'borne,' and do not bear, witness to myself." I am far from alluding to Him that said so![19] Yet truth, concerning a member of His, He will own, though men do not.—But I think, if I mistake not, I have a cloud of witnesses. I think so; let men be as froward as they will. [*My honourable friends!*] I have witness Within,—Without,—and Above! But I shall speak of my witnesses Without; having fully spoken of the Witness who is Above, and 'who is' in my own conscience, before. Under the other head[20] I spoke of these; because that subject had more obscurity in it, and I in some sort needed appeals;—and, I trust, might lawfully make them (as lawfully as take an oath), where the things were not so apt to be made evident 'otherwise.' [*In such circumstances, Yea!*]—I shall enumerate my witnesses as well as I can.

When I had consented to accept of the Government, there was some Solemnity to be performed. And that was accompanied by some persons of considerableness in all respects: there were the persons before mentioned to you;[21] these accompanied me, at the time of my entering upon this Government, to Westminster Hall to receive my Oath. There was an express[22] consent on the part

[18] This paragraph is characteristic. One of Oliver's *warts*. His Highness, in haste to be through, is for breaking-off into the 'next thing,' with hope of greater 'brevity;' but then suddenly bethinks him that he has not yet quite completely winded-off the '*first* thing,' and so returns to that. The paragraph, stark nonsense in the original (where they that are patient of such can read it, *Parliamentary History*, xx. 357), indicates, on intense inspection, that this is the purport of it. A glimpse afforded us, through one of Oliver's confused regurgitations and incondite *mis*utterances of speech, into the real inner man of him. Of which there will be other instances as we proceed.

[19] 'Then answered Jesus, and said unto them,——If I bear witness of my-'self, my witness is not true. There is Another that beareth witness of me.' (*John*, v. 31, 32.)

[20] 'upon the other account' in orig. [21] 'before expressed' in orig.

[22] 'explicit' and 'implicit' in the original; but we must say 'express' and

of these and other interested persons. And 'there was also' an implied consent of many; showing their good liking and approbation thereof. And, Gentlemen, I do not think you are altogether strangers to it in your countries. Some did not nauseate it; very many did approve it.

I had the approbation of the Officers of the Army, in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. I say, of the Officers: I had that by their 'express' Remonstrances,[23] and under signature. But there went along with that express consent of theirs, an implied consent also 'of a body' of persons who had 'had' somewhat to do in the world; who had been instrumental, by God, to fight down the Enemies of God and of His People in the three Nations. [*The Soldiery of the Commonwealth. Persons of "some considerableness," these too!*] And truly, until my hands were bound, and I 'was' limited (to my own great satisfaction, as many can bear me witness); while I had in my hands so great a power and arbitrariness,—the Soldiery were a very considerable part of these Nations, especially all Government being dissolved. I say, when all Government was thus dissolved, and nothing to keep things in order but the Sword! And yet they,—which many Histories will not parallel,—even they were desirous that things might come to a consistency; and arbitrariness be taken away; and the Government be put into 'the hands of' a person limited and bounded, as in the Act of Settlement, whom they distrusted the least, and loved not the worst. [*Hear!*] There was another evidence 'of consent, implied if not express.'

I would not forget the honourable and civil entertainment, with the approbation I found in the great City of London;[24]—which the City knows whether I directly or indirectly sought. And truly I do not think it folly to remember this. For it was very great and high; and very public; and 'included' as numerous a body of those that are known by names and titles,—the several Corporations and Societies of Citizens in this City,—as hath at any time been seen in England. And not without some appearance of satisfaction also.—And I had not this witness only. I have had

'implied,'—the word 'implicit' having now got itself tacked to 'faith' (*implicit-faith*), and become thereby hopelessly degraded from any independent meaning.

[23] Means 'Public Letters of Adherence.'

[24] Dinner, with all manner of gala, in the common Royal Style; 8th February 1653-4 (Whitlocke, 2d edition, p. 581).

from the greatest County in England, and from many Cities and Boroughs and Counties, express approbations. 'Express approbations' not of men gathered here and there, but from the County General Assizes;—the Grand Jury, in name of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Yeomen and Inhabitants of that County, giving very great thanks to me for undertaking this heavy burden at such a time; and giving very great approbation and encouragement to me to go through with it.[25] These are plain; I have them to show. And by these, in some measure, it will appear "I do not bear witness to myself."

This is not all. The Judges,—truly I had almost forgotten it [*Another little window into his Highness!*],—the Judges, thinking that there had now come a dissolution to all Government, met and consulted; and did declare one to another, That they could not administer justice to the satisfaction of their consciences, until they had received Commissions from me. And they did receive Commissions from me; and by virtue of those Commissions they have acted:—and all Justices of the Peace that have acted have acted by virtue of like Commissions. Which was a little more than an implied approbation! And I believe all the Justice administered in the Nation hath been by this authority. Which also I lay before you; desiring you to think, Whether all those persons now mentioned must not come to you for an Act of Oblivion and General Pardon, for having acted under and testified to this Government, if it be disowned by you!—

And I have two or three witnesses more,—equivalent to all these I have yet mentioned, if I be not mistaken, and greatly mistaken! If I should say, All *you* that are here are my witnesses,—I should say no untruth! I know that you are the same persons here that you were in your countries[26]—But I will reserve this for a little; this will be the *issue*, 'the general outcome and climax,' of my Proof. [*Another little window:—almost a half-soliloquy; you see the Speech getting ready in the interior of his Highness.*] I say I have two or three witnesses, of still more weight than all I have counted and reckoned yet. All the People in England are my witnesses;

[25] 'Humble Petition and Representation of the Grand Jury at the Assizes held at York, March 1653 (1654), in name of' &c. &c.: Newspapers; *Perfect Diurnal*, 3d-10th April 1654 (King's Pamphlets, large 4to, no. 82, § 12), and others.—Similar recognition 'by the Mayor' &c. &c. 'of the ancient City of York' (ibid.).

[26] Where you had to acknowledge me before election, he means, but does not yet see good to say.

and many in Ireland and Scotland! All the Sheriffs in England are my witnesses: and all that have come-in upon a Process issued out by Sheriffs are my witnesses. [*My honourable friends, how did* YOU *come in?*] Yea, the Returns of the Elections to the Clerk of the Crown,—not a thing to be blown away by a breath,—the Return on behalf of the Inhabitants in the Counties, Cities and Boroughs, all are my witnesses of approbation to the Condition and Place I stand in.

And I shall now make *you* my last witnesses! [*Here comes it, "the issue of my Proof!"*] And shall ask you, Whether you came not hither by my Writs directed to the several Sheriffs 'of Counties,' and through the Sheriffs to the other Officers of Cities and Liberties? To which 'Writs' the People gave obedience; having also had the Act of Government communicated to them,—to which end great numbers of copies 'thereof' were sent down to be communicated to them. And the Government[27] 'was' also required to be distinctly read unto the People at the place of election, to avoid surprises, 'or misleadings of them through their ignorance;' —where also they signed the Indenture,[28] with proviso, "That the "Persons so chosen should *not* have power to alter the Government "as now settled in one Single Person and a Parliament!" [*My honourable friends—?*]—And thus I have made good my second Assertion, "That I bear not witness to myself;" but that the good People of England and you all are my witnesses.

Yea, surely!—And 'now' this being so,—though I told you in my last Speech "that you were a Free Parliament," yet I thought it was understood withal that I was the Protector, and the Authority that called you! That I was in possession of the Government by a good right from God and men! And I believe if the learnedest men in this Nation were called to show a precedent, equally clear, of a Government so many ways approved of, they would not in all their search find it.—I did not in my other Speech take upon me to justify the 'Act of' Government in every particular; and I told you the reason, which was plain: The Act of Government was public, and had long been published, 'in order' that it might be under the most serious inspection of all that pleased to peruse it.

This is what I had to say at present for approving[29] myself to

[27] Act or Instrument of Government. [28] Writ of Return.

[29] 'By what I have said, I have approved,' &c. in orig.: but rhetorical charity required the change.

God and my conscience in my actions throughout this undertaking; and for giving cause of approving myself to every one of your consciences in the sight of God.—And if the fact be so, why should we sport with it? With a business so serious! May not this character, this stamp [*Stamp put upon a man by the Most High and His providences*], bear equal poise with any Hereditary Interest that could furnish, or hath furnished, in the Common Law or elsewhere, matter of dispute and trial of learning? In the like of which many have exercised more wit, and spilt more blood, than I hope ever to live to see or hear of again in this Nation! [*Red and White Roses, for example; Henry of Bolingbroke, and the last 'Protector.'*]—I say, I do not know why I may not balance this Providence, in the sight of God, with *any* Hereditary Interest [*Nor do I!*]; as a thing *less* subject to those cracks and flaws which that 'other' is commonly incident unto; the disputing of which has cost more blood in former times in this Nation than we have leisure to speak of now!—

Now if this be thus, and I am deriving a title from God and men upon such accounts as these are—Although some men be froward, yet that *your* judgments who are Persons sent from all parts of the Nation under the notion of *approving* this Government —[*His Highness, bursting with meaning, completes neither of these sentences; but pours himself, like an irregular torrent, through other orifices and openings.*]—For you to disown or not to own it: for you to act with Parliamentary Authority especially in the disowning of it; contrary to the very fundamental things, yea against the very root itself of this Establishment: to sit and not own the Authority by which you sit,——is that which I believe astonisheth more men than myself; and doth as dangerously disappoint and discompose the Nation as any thing 'that' could have been invented by the greatest enemy to our peace and welfare, or 'that' could well have happened. [*Sorrow, anger and reproach on his Highness's countenance; the voice risen somewhat into* ALT, *and rolling with a kind of rough music in the tones of it!*]

It is true, as there are some things in the Establishment which are Fundamental, so there are others which are not, but are Circumstantial. Of these no question but I shall easily agree to vary, to leave out, 'according' as I shall be convinced by reason. But some things are Fundamentals! About which I shall deal plainly with you: These may *not* be parted with; but will, I trust, be delivered over to Posterity, as the fruits of our blood and travail.

The Government by a Single Person and a Parliament is a Fundamental! It is the *esse*, it is constitutive. And as for the Person,—though I may seem to plead for myself, yet I do not: no, nor can any reasonable man say it. If the things throughout this Speech be true, I plead for this Nation, and for all honest men therein who have borne their testimony as aforesaid, and not for myself! And if things should do otherwise than well (which I would not fear), and the Common Enemy and discontented persons take advantage of these distractions, the issue will be put up before God: let Him own it, or let Him disown it, as He pleases!—

In every Government there must be Somewhat Fundamental [*Will speak now of Fundamentals*], Somewhat like a *Magna Charta*, which should be standing, be unalterable. Where there is a stipulation on one side, and that fully accepted, as appears by what hath been said,—surely a return[30] ought to be; else what does that stipulation signify? If I have, upon the terms aforesaid, undertaken this great Trust, and exercised it; and by it called *you*,—surely it ought 'by you' to be owned.—That Parliaments should not make themselves perpetual is a Fundamental. [*Yea; all know it: taught by the example of the Rump!*] Of what assurance is a *Law* to prevent so great an evil, if it lie in the same Legislature to *un*law it again? [*Must have a Single Person to check your Parliament.*] Is such a Law like to be lasting? It will be a rope of sand; it will give no security; for the same men may unbuild what they have built.

'Again,' is not Liberty of Conscience in Religion a Fundamental? So long as there is Liberty of Conscience for the Supreme Magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what Form of Church-Government he is satisfied he should set up ["HE *is to decide on the Form of Church-Government, then?" The Moderns, especially the Voluntary Principle, stare*],—why should he not give the like liberty to others? Liberty of Conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it; having 'himself' liberty to settle what he likes for the Public. ["*Where, then, are the limits of Dissent?" An abstruse question, my Voluntary friends; especially with a Gospel really* BELIEVED!] Indeed that hath been one of the vanities of our Contest. Every Sect saith: "Oh, give me liberty!" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? 'Liberty of Conscience'—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! The Magistrate hath *his* supremacy; he may settle

[30] reciprocal engagement.

Religion, 'that is, Church-Government,' according to his conscience. And 'as for the People'—I may say it to you, I can say it: All the money of this Nation would not have tempted men to fight upon such an account as they have here been engaged in, if they had not had hopes of Liberty 'of Conscience' better than Episcopacy granted them, or than would have been afforded by a Scots Presbytery,—or an English either, if it had made such steps, and been as sharp and rigid, as it threatened when first set up![31] This, I say, is a Fundamental. It ought to be so. It is for us and the generations to come. And if there be an absoluteness in the Imposer [*As you seem to argue*], without fitting allowances and exceptions from the rule ["*Fitting:*" *that is a wide word!*],—we shall have the People driven into wildernesses. As they were, when those poor and afflicted people, who forsook their estates and inheritances here, where they lived plentifully and comfortably, were necessitated, for enjoyment of their Liberty, to go into a waste howling wilderness in New England;—where they have, for Liberty's sake, stript themselves of all their comfort; embracing rather loss of friends and want than be so ensnared and in bondage. [*Yea!*]

Another 'Fundamental' which I had forgotten is the Militia. That is judged a Fundamental if anything be so. That *it* should be well and equally placed is very necessary. For, put the absolute power of the Militia into 'the hands of' one 'Person,'—without a check, what doth it serve? 'On the other hand,' I pray you, what check is there upon your Perpetual Parliaments, if the Government be wholly stript of this of the Militia? 'This as we now have it' is[32] equally placed, and men's desires were to have it so;—namely, in one Person, and in the Parliament 'along with him,' while the Parliament sits. What signified a provision against perpetuating of Parliaments, if this power of the Militia be solely in *them?* Think, Whether without some check, the Parliament have it not in their power to alter the Frame of Government altogether,—into Aristocracy, Democracy, into Anarchy, into anything, if this 'of the Militia' be fully in them! Yea, into all confusion; and that without remedy! If this one thing be placed

[31] Liberty of Conscience must not be refused to a People who have fought and conquered 'upon such an account' as ours was! For more of Oliver's notions concerning the Magistrate's power in Church matters, see his Letter to the Scotch Clergy, Letter CXLVIII. vol. ii. p. 134.

[32] 'It is' in orig.

in one 'party,' that one, be it Parliament, be it Supreme Governor, hath power to make what he pleases of all the rest. ["*Hum-m-m!*" *from the old Parliament.*]—Therefore if you would have a balance at all; if you agree that some Fundamentals must stand, as worthy to be delivered over to Posterity,—truly I think it is not unreasonably urged that 'this power of' the Militia should be disposed as we have it in the Act of Government;—should be placed so equally that no one party neither in Parliament nor out of Parliament have the power of ordering it. 'Well;'—the Council are the Trustees of the Commonwealth, in all *intervals* of Parliament; and have as absolute a negative upon the Supreme Officer in the said intervals, as the Parliament hath while it is sitting. [*So that we are safe—or safish, your Highness? No one party has power of the Militia at any time.*] The power of the Militia cannot be made use of; not a man can be raised, nor a penny charged upon the People, nothing can be done, without consent of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parliament, without consent of the Council. Give me leave to say, There is very little power, none but what is coördinate, 'placed' in the Supreme Officer; and yet enough in him in that particular. He is bound in strictness by the Parliament, and out of Parliament by the Council, who do as absolutely bind him as the Parliament while sitting doth.—

As for that of Money—I told you some things were Circumstantials [*Comes to the Circumstantials*];—as, for example, this is: That we should have 200,000*l.* to defray Civil Offices,—to pay the Judges and other Officers; to defray the charges of the Council in sending their embassies, in keeping intelligence, and doing what is necessary; and to support the Governor in Chief:[33] All this is, by the Instrument, supposed and intended. But it is not of the *esse* so much; nor 'is it' limited 'so strictly' as 'even' the number of Soldiers is,—20,000 Foot and 10,000 Horse. [*Guard even afar off against any sinking below the minimum in that!*] Yet if the spirits of men were composed, 5,000 Horse and 10,000 Foot might serve. These things are 'Circumstantial,' are between the Chief Officer and the Parliament, to be moderated, 'regulated,' as occasion shall offer.

Of this sort there are many Circumstantial things, which are not like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But the things which shall be necessary to deliver over to Posterity, these should be

[33] Instrument of Government, Art. 27 (*Somers Tracts*, vi. 294).

unalterable. Else every succeeding Parliament will be disputing to alter the Government; and we shall be as often brought into confusion as we have Parliaments, and so make our remedy our disease. The Lord's Providence, evil 'effects' appearing, and good appearing, and better judgment 'in ourselves,' will give occasion for ordering of things to the best interest of the People. Those 'Circumstantial' things are the matter of consideration between you and me.

I have indeed almost tired myself. What I have farther to say is this [*Does not yet say it*]—I would it had not been needful for me to call you hither to expostulate these things with you, and in such a manner as this! But Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities,—'certainly these' are the greatest cozenage that men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by. 'Yes;' but it is *as* legal, 'contrary to God's free Grace,' as carnal, and as stupid [*A tone of anger*], to think that there are no Necessities which are manifest 'and real,' because necessities may be abused or feigned! And truly that were my case[34] if I should so think 'here;' and I hope none of you so think. I have to say [*Says it now*]: The wilful throwing-away of this Government, such as it is, so owned by God, so approved by men, so witnessed to (in the Fundamentals of it) as was mentioned above, 'were a thing which,'—and in reference 'not to *my* good, but' to the good of these Nations and of Posterity, —I can sooner be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, than I can give my consent unto! [*Never!—Do you catch the tone of that voice, reverberating, like thunder from the roof of the Painted Chamber, over the heads of Bradshaw, Haselrig, Scott and Company; the aspect of that face, with its lion-mouth and mournful eyes,—kindled now and radiant all of it, with sorrow, with rebuke and wrathful defiance?—Bradshaw and Company look on it unblanched; but will be careful not to provoke such a one. There lie penalties in him!*]

You have been called hither to save a Nation,—Nations. You had the best People, indeed, of the Christian world put into your trust, when you came hither. You had the affairs of these Nations delivered over to you in peace and quiet; you were, and we all are, put into an undisturbed possession, nobody making title to us. Through the blessing of God, our enemies were hopeless and scattered. We had peace at home; peace with almost all our

[34] To be legal, and carnal and stupid.

Neighbours round about,—apt 'otherwise' to take advantages where God did administer them. 'These things we had, few days ago, when you came hither. And now?'—To have our peace and interest, whereof those were our hopes the other day, thus shaken, and put under such a confusion; and ourselves [*Chiefly "I"*] rendered hereby almost the scorn and contempt of those strangers [*Dutch Ambassadors and the like*] who are amongst us to negotiate their masters' affairs! To give *them* opportunity to see our nakedness as they do: "A people that have been unhinged this twelve-years day,[35] and are unhinged still,"—as if scattering, division and confusion came upon us like things we desired: '*these*,' which are the greatest plagues that God ordinarily lays upon Nations for sin!

I would be loath to say these are matters of our desire.[36] But if not, then why not matters of our *care*,—as wisely as by our utmost endeavours we might, to *avoid* them! Nay if, by such actings as these 'now' are, these poor Nations shall be thrown into heaps and confusion, through blood, and ruin, and trouble[37] —And upon the saddest account that ever was, if breaking 'and confusion' should come upon us;—all because we would not settle when we could, when God put it into our hands! Your affairs now almost settled everywhere: and to have all recoil upon us; and ourselves 'to be' shaken in our affections, loosened from all known and public interests:—as I said before, who shall answer for these things to God?

Who can answer for these things to God, or to men? 'To men' —to the People who sent you hither; who looked for refreshment from you; who looked for nothing but peace and quietness, and rest and settlement? When we come to give an account to them, we shall have it to say, "Oh, we quarrelled for the *Liberty of "England;* we contested, and 'went to confusion,' for that!"— 'Now,' Wherein, I pray you, for the "Liberty of England"? I appeal to the Lord, that the desires and endeavours we have had ——Nay the things will speak for themselves. The "Liberty of England," the Liberty of the People; the avoiding of tyrannous impositions either upon men as men, or Christians as Christians; —is made so safe by this Act of Settlement, that it will speak for itself. And when it shall appear to the world what 'really' hath

[35] An old phrase; 'day' emphatic. [36] Politely oblique for 'your desire.'
[37] 'what shall we then say?' his Highness means, but does not complete the sentence,—as is sometimes his habit.

been said and done by all of us, and what our real transactions were—For God can discover; no Privilege [*What! Not even Privilege of Parliament?*] will hinder the Lord from discovering! No Privilege, or condition of man can hide from the Lord; He can and will make all manifest, if He see it for His glory![38]—And when these 'things, as I say,' shall be manifested; and the People will come and ask, "Gentlemen, what condition is this we are in? "We hoped for light; and behold darkness, obscure darkness! We "hoped for rest after ten-years Civil War, but are plunged into "deep confusion again!"—Ay; we know these consequences will come upon us, if God Almighty shall not find out some way to prevent them.

I had a thought within myself, That it would not have been dishonest nor dishonourable, nor against true Liberty, no not 'the Liberty' of Parliaments, 'if,' when a Parliament was so chosen 'as you have been,' in pursuance of this Instrument of Government and in conformity to it, and with such an approbation and consent to it,—some Owning of your Call and of the Authority which brought you hither, had been required before your entrance into the House. [*Deep silence in the audience.*] This was declined, and hath not been done, because I am persuaded scarce any man could doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least of all doubted thereof. And therefore I must deal plainly with you: What I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now! [*Paleness on some faces.*] Seeing the Authority which called you is so little valued, and so much slighted,—till some such Assurance be given and made known, that the Fundamental Interest shall be settled and approved according to the proviso in the 'Writ of' Return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I HAVE CAUSED A STOP TO BE PUT TO YOUR ENTRANCE INTO THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE. [*You understand that, my honourable friends?*]

I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this! But there is cause: and if things be not satisfied which are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, will do that which becomes *me*, seeking my counsel from God.—There is therefore Somewhat [*A bit of written Parchment!*] to be offered to you; which I hope will answer, being understood with the

[38] 'Privilege' of Parliament, in those days, strenuously forbids *reporting*; but it will not serve in the case referred to!

qualifications I have told you,—'namely, of' reforming as to Circumstantials, and agreeing in the Substance and Fundamentals, 'that is to say,' in the Form of Government now settled, which is expressly stipulated in your Indentures "not to be altered." The making of your minds known in that by giving your assent and subscription to it, is the means that will let you in, to act those things as a Parliament which are for the good of the People. And this thing [*The Parchment!*], 'when once it is' shown to you and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy; and may give a happy progress and issue to this Parliament. [*Honourable gentlemen look in one another's faces,—find general blank.*]

The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. [*My honourable friends, you know the way, don't you?*]——

The 'Instrument of' Government doth declare that you have a legislative power without a negative from me. As the Instrument doth express it, you may make any Laws; and if I give not my consent, within twenty days, to the passing of your Laws, they are *ipso facto* Laws, whether I consent or no,—if not contrary to the 'Frame of' Government. You have an absolute Legislative Power in all things that can possibly concern the good and interest of the public; and I think you may make these Nations happy by this Settlement. And I, for my part, shall be willing to be bound more than I am, in anything concerning which I can become convinced that it may be for the good of the People, or tend to the preservation of the Cause and Interest so long contended for.*

Go your ways, my honourable friends, and sign, so many of you as God hath made free thereunto! The place, I tell you, is in the Lobby without the Parliament Door. The 'Thing,' as you will find there, is a bit of Parchment with these words engrossed on it: '*I do hereby freely promise, 'and engage myself, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and the 'Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not (ac-'cording to the tenor of the Indenture whereby I am returned to serve in 'this present Parliament) propose, or give my consent, to alter the Govern-'ment as it is settled in a Single Person and a Parliament.*'[39] Sign that, or go home again to your countries.

Let honourable gentlemen therefore consider what they will do!—'About a Hundred signed directly, within an hour.' Guibon Goddard and all the Norfolk Members (except one, who was among the direct Hundred)

* Old Pamphlet, brother to the foregoing; reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 349-69.

[39] Whitlocke, p. 587.

went and 'had dinner together,' to talk the matter over;—mostly thought it would be better to sign; and did sign, all but some two. The number who have signed this first day, we hear, is a Hundred-and-twenty, a Hundred-and-thirty, nay a Hundred-and-forty.[40] Blank faces of honourable gentlemen begin to take meaning again,—some mild, some grim. To-morrow being Fastday, there is an adjournment. The recusants are treated 'with all tenderness;' most of them come-in by degrees: 'Three-hundred before the month ends.'

Deep Republicans, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Thomas Scott and the like, would not come-in; still less would shallow noisy ones, as Major Wildman;—went home to their countries again, their blank faces settling into permanent grim. My Lord Protector molested no man for his recusancy; did indeed take that absence as a comparative favour from the parties. Harrison and other suspect persons are a little looked after: the Parliament resumes its function as if little had happened. With a singular acquiescence on the part of the Public, write our correspondents, Dutch and other. The Public, which I have known rebel against crowned Kings for twitching the tippet of a Parliament, permits this Lord Protector to smite it on the cheek, and say, "Have a care, wilt thou!" Perhaps this Lord Protector is believed to mean better than the King did? There is a difference in the objects of men, as the Public understands;—a difference in the men too for rebelling against! At any rate, here is singular submission everywhere; and my Lord Protector getting ready a powerful Sea-Armament, neither his Parliament nor any other creature can yet guess for what.[41]

Goddard's report of this Parliament is distinct enough; brief, and not without some points of interest; 'the misfortune is,' says one Commentator, 'he does not give us *names*.' Alas, a much greater misfortune is, the Parliament itself is hardly worth naming! It did not prove a successful Parliament;—it held-on by mere Constitution-building; and effected, so to speak, nothing. Respectable Pedant persons; never doubting but the Ancient sacred Sheepskins would serve for the New Time, which also has its sacredness; thinking, full surely, constitutional logic was the thing England now needed of them! Their History shall remain blank, to the end of the world. I have read their Debates, and counsel no other man to do it. Wholly upon the 'Institution of Government,' modelling, new-modelling of that: endless anxious spider-webs of constitutional logic; vigilant checks, constitutional jealousies, &c. &c. To be forgotten by all creatures.

They had a Committee of Godly Ministers sitting in the Jerusalem

[40] Goddard, Whitlocke, Letter in *Thurloe*.

[41] Dutch Ambassadors, French, &c., in *Thurloe*, ii. 606, 613, 638 (15th, 18th Sept.; 9th Oct.). See also Appendix, No. 28.

Chamber; a kind of miniature Assembly of Divines; intent upon 'Scandalous Ministers and Schoolmasters,' upon tender consciences, and the like objects: but there were only Twenty in this Assembly; they could hardly ever get fairly under way at all;—and have left in English History no trace that I could see of their existence, except a very reasonable Petition, noted in the Record, That the Parliament would be pleased to advance them a little money towards the purchase of fire and candle,—in these cold dark months. The Parliament, I hope, allowed them coals and a few tallow-lights; but neither they nor it could accomplish anything towards the Settling of a Godly Ministry in England: my Lord Protector and *his* Commissions will have to settle that too; an object dear to all good men. This Parliament spent its time in constitutional jangling, in vigilant contrivance of balances, checks, and that species of entities. With difficulty could, at rare intervals, a hasty stingy vote, not for the indispensable Supplies, but for some promise of them, be wrung from it. An unprofitable Parliament.

For the rest, they had Biddle the Socinian before them; a poor Gloucester Schoolmaster once, now a very conspicuous Heresiarch, apparently of mild but entirely obstinate manners,—poor devil: him they put into the Gatehouse; him and various others of that kidney. Especially 'Theauro John, who laid about him with a drawn sword at the door of the Parliament House one day,'[42]—a man clearly needing to be confined. 'Theauro John:' his name had originally been John Davy, if I recollect; but the Spirit, in some preternatural hour, revealed to him that it ought to be as above. Poor Davy: his labours, life-adventures, financial arrangements, painful biography in general, are all unknown to us; till, on this 'Saturday 30th December 1654,' he very clearly 'knocks loud at the door of the Parliament House,' as much as to say, "What is this *you* are upon?" and 'lays about him with a drawn sword;'—after which all again becomes unknown. Seemingly a kind of Quaker. Does the reader know James Nayler, and the devout women worshipping him? George Fox, in his suit of leather, independent of mankind, looks down into the soft Vale of Belvoir, native 'Vale of Bever:' Do not the whispering winds and green fields, do not the still smoke-pillars from these poor cottages under the eternal firmaments, say in one's heart, "George, canst thou do nothing for us? George, wilt thou not help us from the wrath to come?" George finds in the Vale of Bever 'a very tender people.' In fact, most singular Quakerisms, frightful Socinianisms, and other portents, are springing up rife in England.

Oliver objected, now and always, to any very harsh punishment of Biddle and Company, much as he abhorred their doctrines. Why burn,

[42] Whitlocke, p. 592. See Goddard (in *Burton*, i. Introd. cxxvi.).

or brand, or otherwise torment them, poor souls? They, wandering as we all do seeking for a door of hope into the Eternities, have, being tempted of the Devil as we all likewise are, *missed* the door of hope; and gone tumbling into dangerous gulfs,—dangerous, but not yet beyond the mercy of God. Do not burn them. They meant, some of them, *well;* bear, visibly to me, the scars of stern true battle against the Enemy of Man. Do not burn them;—lock them up, that they may not mislead others. On frugal wholesome diet in Pendennis Castle, or Elizabeth Castle in Jersey, or here in the Clink Prison at London, they will not cost you much, and may arrive at some composure. Branding and burning is an ugly business;—as little of that as you can.

Friday 29th September 1654. His Highness, say the old Lumber-Books, went into Hyde Park; made a small picnic dinner under the trees, with Secretary Thurloe, attended by a few servants;—was, in fact, making a small pleasure excursion, having in mind to try a fine new team of horses, which the Earl or Duke of Oldenburg had lately sent him. Dinner done, his Highness himself determined to drive,—two in hand I think, with a postillion driving other two. The horses, beautiful animals, tasting of the whip, became unruly; galloped, would not be checked, but took to plunging; plunged the postillion down; plunged or shook his Highness down, 'dragging him by the foot for some time,' so that 'a pistol went off in his pocket,' to the amazement of men. Whereupon? Whereupon—his Highness got up again, little the worse; was let blood; and went about his affairs much as usual![43] Small anecdote, that figures, larger than life, in all the Books and Biographies. I have known men thrown from their horses on occasion, and less noise made about it, my erudite friend! But the essential point was, his Highness wore a pistol.—Yes, his Highness is prepared to defend himself; has men, and has also truculent-flunkies, and devils and devil's-servants of various kinds, to defend himself against;—and wears pistols, and what other furniture outward and inward may be necessary for the object. Such of you as have an eye that way can take notice of it!—

Thursday 16th November 1654. On the other hand, what a glimpse into the interior domesticities of the Protector Household have we in the following brief Note! Amid the darkness and buzzard dimness, one light-beam, clear, radiant, mournfully beautiful, like the gleam of a sudden star, disclosing for a moment many things to us! On Friday, Secretary Thurloe writes incidentally: 'My Lord Protector's Mother, of Ninety-'four years old, died last night. A little before her death she gave my 'Lord her blessing, in these words: "The Lord cause His face to shine 'upon you; and comfort you in all your adversities; and enable you to 'do great things for the glory of your Most High God, and to be a relief

[43] Thurloe, i. 652-3; Ludlow, ii. 508.

'unto His People. My dear Son, I leave my heart with thee. A good 'night!"'[44]—and therewith sank into her long sleep. Even so. Words of ours are but idle. Thou brave one, Mother of a Hero, farewell!—Ninety-four years old: the royalties of Whitehall, says Ludlow very credibly, were of small moment to her: 'at the sound of a musket she 'would often be afraid her Son was shot; and could not be satisfied 'unless she saw him once a day at least.'[45] She, old, weak, wearied one, she cannot help him with his refractory Pedant Parliaments, with his Anabaptist plotters, Royalist assassins, and world-wide confusions; but she bids him, Be strong, be comforted in God. And so Good night! And in the still Eternities and divine Silences—Well, *are* they not divine?—

December 26th, 1654. The refractory Parliament and other dim confusions still going on, we mark as a public event of some significance, the sailing of his Highness's Sea-Armament. It has long been getting ready on the Southern Coast; sea-forces, land-forces; sails from Portsmouth on Christmas morrow, as above marked.[46]—None yet able to divine whither bound; not even the Generals, Venables and Penn, till they reach a certain latitude. Many are much interested to divine! Our Brussels Correspondent writes long since, 'The Lord Protector's Government 'makes England more formidable and considerable to all Nations than 'ever it has been in my days.'[47]

[44] Thurloe to Pell, 17th November 1654: in Vaughan's *Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1839), i. 81.

[45] Ludlow, ii. 488.

[46] Penn's Narrative, in *Thurloe*, iv. 28.

[47] Thurloe, i. 160 (11th March 1653-4).

LETTERS CXCVI. CXCVII.

HERE are Two small Letters, harmlessly reminding us of far interests and of near;—otherwise yielding no new light; but capable of being read without commentary. Read them; and let us hasten to dissolve the poor Constitutioning Parliament, which ought not to linger on these pages, or on any page.

LETTER CXCVI.

To Richard Bennet, Esq., Governor of Virginia: These.

SIR, Whitehall, 12th January 1654.

Whereas the differences between the Lord Baltimore and the Inhabitants of Virginia, concerning the Bounds by them respectively claimed, are depending before our Council, and yet undetermined; and whereas we are credibly informed, you have notwithstanding gone into his Plantation in Maryland, and countenanced some people there in opposing the Lord Baltimore's Officers; whereby, and with other forces from Virginia, you have much disturbed that Colony and People, to the endangering of tumults and much bloodshed there, if not timely prevented:

We therefore, at the request of the Lord Baltimore, and 'of' divers other Persons of Quality here, who are engaged by great adventures in his interest, do, for preventing of disturbances or tumults there, will and require you, and all others deriving any authority from you, To forbear disturbing the Lord Baltimore, or his Officers or People in Maryland; and to permit all things to remain as they were before any disturbance or alteration made by you, or by any other upon pretence of authority from you, till the said

Differences above mentioned be determined by us here, and we give farther order therein. We rest

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Commissioners, it would appear, went out to settle the business; got it, we have no doubt, with due difficulty settled. See Letter CCIII.,—26th September 1655, 'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

LETTER CXCVII.

HERE again, while the Pedant Parliament keeps arguing and constitutioning, are discontents in the Army that threaten to develop themselves. Dangerous fermentings of Fifth-Monarchy and other bad ingredients, in the Army and out of it; encouraged by the Parliamentary height of temperature. Charles Stuart, on the word of a Christian King, is extensively bestirring himself. Royalist preparations, provisions of arms; Anabaptist Petitions: abroad and at home very dangerous designs on foot: but we have our eye upon them.

The Scotch Army seems, at present, the questionablest. 'The pay of the men is thirty weeks in arrear,' for one thing; the Anabaptist humour needs not that addition! Colonel Alured, we saw, had to be dismissed the Service last year; Overton and others were questioned, and not dismissed. But now some desperate scheme has risen among the Forces in Scotland, of deposing General Monk, of making Republican Overton Commander,—and so marching off, all but the indispensable Garrison-troops, south into England, *there* to seek pay and other redress.[1] This Parliament, now in its Fourth Month, supplies no money; nothing but constitutional debatings. My Lord Protector had need be watchful! He again, in this December, summons Overton from Scotland; again questions him;—sees good, this time, to commit him to the Tower,[2] and end his military services. The Army, in Scotland and elsewhere, with no settlement yet to its vague fermenting humours, and not even money to pay its arrears, is dangerous enough.

Of Adjutant-General Allen whom this Letter concerns, it may be proper to say that Ludlow in mentioning him has mistaken his man.

* Thurloe, i. 724. The Signature only is Oliver's; signature, and sense. Thurloe has jotted on the back of this: 'A duplicate also hereof was writ, signed by his Highness.'

[1] Postea, Speech IV.; and Thurloe, iii. 110, &c.

[2] 16th January 1654-5 (Overton's Letter, *Thurloe*, iii. 110).

The reader recollects, a good while ago, Three Troopers, notable at the moment, who appeared once before the Long Parliament, with a Petition from the Army, in the year Forty-seven? Their names were Allen, Sexby, Sheppard: Ludlow will have it, the Trooper Allen was this Adjutant-General Allen;[3] which is a mistake of Ludlow's. Trooper Sexby we did since see, as Captain Sexby, after Preston Fight; and shall again, in sad circumstances see: but of Trooper Allen there is no farther vestige anywhere except this imaginary one; of Trooper Sheppard not even an imaginary vestige. They have vanished, these two; and Adjutant-General Allen, vindicating his identity such as it is, enters here on his own footing. A resolute devout man, whom we have seen before; the same who was deep in the Prayer-Meeting at Windsor years ago:[4] this is his third, and we hope his last appearance on the stage of things.

Allen has been in Ireland, since that Prayer-Meeting; in Ireland and elsewhere, resolutely fighting, earnestly praying, as from of old; has had many darkenings of mind; expects, for almost a year past, 'little good from the Governments of this world,' one or the other. He has honoured, and still would fain honour, 'the Person now in chief place,' having seen in him much 'uprightheartedness to the Lord;' must confess, however, 'the late Change hath more stumbled me than any ever did;'—and, on the whole, knows not what he will resolve upon.[5] We find he has resolved on quitting Ireland, for one thing; has come over to 'his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's in Devonshire:'—and, to all appearance, is not building established-churches there! 'Captain Unton Crook,' of whom we shall hear afterwards, is an active man, son of a learned Lawyer;[6] very zealous for the Protector's interest;—zealous for his own and his Father's promotion, growls Ludlow. Desborow, who fitted-out the late mysterious Sea-Armament on the Southern Coast (not too judiciously, I doubt), is Commander-in-chief in those parts.

'*For Captain Unton Crook, at Exeter: These.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 20th January 1654.

Being informed by a Letter of yours and General Desborow, also by a Letter from the High Sheriff of Devon, that

[3] Ludlow, i. 189: 'Edward Sexby,' 'William Allen;' but in the name of the third Trooper, which is not 'Philips' but *Sheppard*, he is mistaken (*Commons Journals*, 30th April 1647); and as to 'Adjutant-General Allen' and the impossibility of his identity with this William Allen, see vol. i. pp. 236, 286.

[4] Vol. i. p. 275.

[5] Two intercepted Letters of Allen's (Thurloe, ii. 214-5), 'Dublin, 6th April 1654.'

[6] Made Sergeant Crook in 1655 (Heath, p. 693).

Adjutant-General Allen doth very ill offices by multiplying dissatisfaction in the minds of men to the present Government, I desire you and the High Sheriff to make diligent inquiry after him, and try to make-out what can be made in this kind, and to give me speedy notice thereof. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.

If he be gone out of the Country, learn whither he is gone, and send me word by next post.*

Allen was not gone out of the Country; he was seized by Crook 'in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's house,' on the 31st of January 1654-5; his papers searched, and himself ordered to be and continue prisoner, at a place agreed upon,—Sand in Somersetshire,—'under his note of hand.' So much we learn from the imbroglios of *Thurloe*;[7] where also are authentic Depositions concerning Allen, 'by Captains John Copleston and the said Unton Crook;' and two Letters of Allen's own,—one to the Protector; and one to 'Colonel Daniel Axtel' (the Regicide Axtel), 'Dr. Philip Carteret, or either of them,' enclosing that other Letter, and leaving it to them to present it or not, he himself thinking earnestly that they should. Both of these Letters, as well as Unton Crook's to the Protector, and the authentic Deposition of Copleston and Crook against Allen, are dated February 7th, 1654-5.

The witnesses depose,[8] That he has bragged to one 'Sir John Davis Baronet,' of an interview he had with the Protector not long since,—wherein he, Allen, told the Protector a bit of his mind; and left him in a kind of huff, and even at a nonplus; and so came off to the West Country in a triumphant manner. Farther he talks questionable things of Ireland, of discontents there, and in laud of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; says, There is plenty of discontent in Ireland; he himself means to be there in February, but will first go to London again. The Country rings with rumour of his questionable speeches. He goes to 'meetings' about Bristol, whither many persons convene,—for Anabaptist or other purposes. Such meetings are often on week-days. Questionabler still, he rides thither 'with a vizard or mask over his face;' 'with glasses over his eyes,'—barnacles, so to speak! Nay, questionablest of all, riding, 'on Friday the 5th of last month,' month of January 1654-5, 'to a meeting 'at Luppit near Honiton, Devon,' there rode also (but not I think to the same place!) a Mr. Hugh Courtenay, once a flaming Royalist Officer in

* Lansdowne MSS. 1236, fol. 102. Superscription torn off;—only the Signature is in Oliver's hand: Address supplied here by inference.

[7] iii. 143; see pp. 140-1. [8] Thurloe, iii. 140.

Ireland, and still a flaming zealot to the lost Cause; who spake nothing all that afternoon but mere treason, of Anabaptists that would rise in London, of &c. &c. Allen, as we say, on the last morning of January was awoke from sleep in his Father-in-law Mr. Huish's, by the entrance of two armed troopers; who informed him that Captain Crook and the High Sheriff were below, and that he would have to put-on his clothes, and come down.

Allen's Letter to the Lord Protector, from Sand in Somersetshire, we rather reluctantly withhold, for want of room. A stubborn, sad, stingily respectful piece of writing: Wife and baby terribly ill off at Sand; desires to be resigned to the Lord, 'before whom both of us shall ere long nakedly appear;'—petitions that at least he might be allowed 'to attend ordinances;' which surely would be reasonable! Are there not good horses that require to be ridden with a dexterous bridle-hand,—delicate, and yet hard and strong? Clearly a strenuous Anabaptist, this Allen; a rugged, true-hearted, not easily governable man; given to Fifth-Monarchy and other notions, though with a strong head to control them. Fancy him duly cashiered from the Army, duly admonished and dismissed into private life. Then add the Colonel Overtons and Colonel Alureds, and General Ludlows and Major-General Harrisons, and also the Charles Stuarts and Christian Kings;—and reflect once more what kind of task this of my Lord Protector's is, and whether he needs refractory Pedant Parliaments to worsen it for him!

SPEECH IV.

FINDING this Parliament was equal to nothing in the Spiritual way but tormenting of poor Heretics, receiving Petitions for a small advance towards coal and candle; and nothing in the Temporal but constitutional air-fabrics and vigilant checkings and balancings,—under which operations such precious fruits at home and abroad were ripening,—Oliver's esteem for this Parliament gradually sank to a marked degree. Check, check,—like maladroit ship-carpenters hammering, adzing, sawing at the Ship of the State, instead of diligently caulking and paying it; idly gauging and computing, nay recklessly tearing-up and remodelling;—when the poor Ship could hardly keep the water as yet, and the Pirates and Sea-Krakens were gathering round! All which most dangerous, not to say half-frantic operations, the Lord Protector discerning well, and swallowing in silence as his hest was,—had for a good while kept his eye upon the Almanac, with more and more impatience for the arrival of the Third of February. That will be the first deliverance of the poor labouring Commonwealth, when at the end of Five Months we send these Parliament philosophers home to their Countries again. Five Months by the Instrument they have to sit;—O fly, lazy Time; it is yet but Four Months and——Somebody suggested, Is not the Soldier-month counted by Four Weeks? Eight-and-twenty days are a Soldier's Month: they have, in a sense, already sat five months, these vigilant Honourable Gentlemen!

Oliver Protector, on Monday morning, 22d of January 1654-5, surprises the Constitutioning Parliament with a message to attend him in the Painted Chamber, and leave 'Settling of the Government' for a while. They have yet voted no Supplies; nor meant to vote any. They thought themselves very safe till February 3d, at soonest. But my Lord Protector, from his high place, speaks, and dissolves.

Speech Fourth, 'printed by Henry Hills, Printer to his Highness the Lord Protector,' is the only one of these Speeches concerning the reporting, printing or publishing of which there is any visible charge or notice taken by the Government of the time. It is ordered in this instance, by the Council of State, That nobody except Henry Hills or those appointed by him shall presume to print or reprint the present Speech, or any part

of it. Perhaps an official precaution considered needful; perhaps also only a matter of copyright; for the Order is so worded as not to indicate which. At all events, there is no trace of the Report having been anywhere interfered with; which seems altogether a spontaneous one; probably the product of Rushworth or some such artist.[1]

The Speech, if read with due intensity, can be understood; and what is equally important, be believed; nay, be found to contain in it a manful, great and valiant meaning,—in tone and manner very resolute, yet very conciliatory; intrinsically not ignoble but noble. For the rest, it is, as usual, sufficiently incondite in phrase and conception; the hasty outpouring of a mind which is *full* of such meanings. Somewhat difficult to read. Practical Heroes, unfortunately, as we once said, do not speak in blank-verse; their trade does not altogether admit of that! Useless to look here for a Greek Temple with its porticoes and entablatures, and *styles*. But the Alp Mountain, with its chasms and cataracts and shaggy pine-forests, and huge granite masses rooted in the Heart of the World: this too is worth looking at, to some. I can give the reader little help; but will advise him to try.

GENTLEMEN,

I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me. [*Doubtless we are here, your Highness!*]

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt-up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of,—though not of the greatest —yet a very great 'People;' and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought 'it' so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other Nations:—and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God [*Hah!*]; God having, as it were, summed-up all our former honour and glory in the things that *are* of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived,—as I,

[1] See *Burton's Diary*.

and truly I believe as many others, did think,—at a very safe port; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God and our Mercies; and might know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the Ancients,—who did make-out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let-down to us from God Himself! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. [*Deep silence; from the old Parliament, and from us.*] Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David: "The things which we have heard "and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them "from our children; showing to the generation to come the praises "of the Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that He "hath done. For He established a Testimony in Jacob, and "appointed a Law in Israel; which He commanded our fathers "that they should make known to their children; that the gener- "ation to come might know them, even the children which should "be born, who should arise and declare them to *their* children: "that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works "of God, but keep His commandments."[2]

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them,—had you had hearts unto it. [*Alas!*] You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true! [*No response from the Moderns: mere silence, stupor, not without sadness.*] This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first: I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort, the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are, for the present, under some disappointment!—If I had proposed to have played the Orator,—which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall [*Hear!*],—I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here: and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes; though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that

[2] Psalm lxxviii. 3-7.

the 'then' management of affairs did savour of a Not owning,—too-too much savour, I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility—Shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability,—of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition [*The Parchment we had to sign: Hum-m!*], suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration,[3] conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient:—thereby, 'I say,' you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes;[4] and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations;—whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you. [*Doubtful "Hum-m-m!" from the old Parliament.*]

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself,—to this very day 'none.' You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. ["*None dare report us, or whisper what we do.*"] But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what

[3] *Commons Journals* (vii. 368), 14th Sept. 1654.

[4] Characteristic sentence, and sentiment;—not to be meddled with.

you have been doing! [*With a certain tone; as one may hear!*] I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine!—If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them,—why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your consultations and resolutions.—I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.—

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, To give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this. [*Old Parliament dubiously rolls its eyes.*]—I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in anything, promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat,—which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon *you;* whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,—in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government,—have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges![5] I will tell you somewhat,

[5] An embarrassed sentence; characteristic of his Highness. "You have

which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose,—a man may say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement, —instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by 'your' reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woful distempers that are amongst us; which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briers and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with real dangers to the whole,—have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp: for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations,—which 'products' I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briers and thorns,—*they* have nourished themselves under your shadow! [*Old Parliament looks still more uneasy.*]

And that I may clearly be understood: They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly, Now whether,— which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not

---

"done nothing noticeable upon this 'Somewhat' that I am about to speak of, "—nor, indeed, it seems upon *any* Somewhat;—and *this* was one you may, "without much 'interpretation,' be blamed for doing nothing upon." 'Government' means *Instrument of Government:* 'the time expressed' therein is *Five Months*,—now, by my way of calculating it, expired! Which may account for the embarrassed iteration of the phrase, on his Highness's part.

to make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this: I think they had it not from me. I am sure they had not 'from me.' From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse: but *that* they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from: that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood That, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,—as I have not,—to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact: but 'that' the things I am telling of are fact; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briers and thorns,—they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings and proceedings. ["*Hum-m-m!*"] But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. [*Yea!*] And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,—let me speak a few words in behalf thereof; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is *non Causa pro Causâ*, 'a Cause without Cause,'—the All-searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands! [*Moderns look astonished.*] For which God hath threatened that He will cast men down, and not build them up. That 'man who,' because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is; but modelleth it according to his own intellect; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other;—calling such observations "enthusiasms:" such men, I say, no wonder if they "stumble and fall backwards, and be broken and snared and taken,"[6] by the things of which they are so wilfully

[6] Isaiah, xxviii. 13. A text that had made a great impression upon Oliver: see Letter to the General Assembly, vol. ii. p. 96.

and maliciously ignorant! The Scriptures say, "The Rod has a "voice, and He will make Himself known by the judgments which "He executeth." And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties; "whom He loves as the apple of His eye"? Doth He not by them manifest Himself? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, "giving men for them, and people for their lives,"—as it is in Isaiah Forty-third?[7] Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as anything our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His People, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship, with the freedom of their consciences, and freedom in estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the works of God; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory,—and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the Interest of those that have an interest in a better world, —it is my glory that I know a Cause which yet we have *not* lost; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose! [*Hah!*]—But you will excuse this long digression.——

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,—I could wish some of them had thrust-in here, to have heard what I say,—have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you: They have been making great preparations of arms; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked-out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, "May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses? Will anybody find fault for that?" Not for that. But the reason for *their* doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the Nation, answer it with their lives: and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.—Banks of money have been framing, for these and other suchlike uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for

[7] Isaiah, xliii. 3, 4: Another prophecy of awful moment to his Highness: see Speech I. vol. ii. p. 272.

the advance of money,—which 'Letters' have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all 'disease' will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole: and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will *these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers,—as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass,—in respect of which I shall give you a particular account,—that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own? I am sure I can lay it upon God's account: That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive!

And what is all this? 'What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point?' Truly I must needs still say: "A company of men like briers and thorns;" and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you. These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. [*Anabaptist Levellers.*] And I must say, as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling,—which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls: so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, "when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain." Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done? I hope, though they pretend "Commonwealth's Interest," they have had no encouragement from you; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for

so doing. 'Any cause' from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours; which I hope did abuse you! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

"What these men have done?" They also have laboured to pervert, where they could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army:—and I doubt that not only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. They have, they have! [*Overton, Allen and Company, your Highness?*] I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How? much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say: Endeavours have been 'made' to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not a mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.—What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of Peace and Settlement from you; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge!

This I tell you also: That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, 'is in our hands.' Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their 'projected' common Rising; whereof, 'I say,' we are possessed; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement:—whether these humours have not nourished

themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. [*His Highness looks animated!*] And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, hath been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God had put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my Speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it. ["*Hum-m-m! We had a Constitution to make!*"]

There was a Government 'already' in the possession of the People,—I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the People,—I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government; ravelling into it—You know I took no notice what you were doing—[*Nor will now, your Highness; let the Sentence drop!*]—If you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations 'as were wanted;' for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet 'as' would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, —'to' men of the same faith with them that you call the Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower,—I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by

keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, 'have' rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied. [*And the Constitution? Hum-m-m!*]

Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For 'indeed' Religion was not the thing at first contested for 'at all:'[8] but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than In obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses [*Our poor brethren of New England!*]; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they 'themselves' laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands! —As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation,—punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights,—they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.—The discipline of the Army *was* such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these.—

[8] Power of the Militia was the point upon which the actual War began. A statement not false; yet truer in form than it is in essence.

And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the 'Instrument of' Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing!—I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds 'of it,' whereby the difficulties might have been cleared 'to them,' and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons, with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed 'by them:' I think in my conscience,—well as they were thought to love their seats,—they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done! And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a questioning, but a doing of things in pursuance of the 'Instrument of' Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say "such an expedient as this Government,"—wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, 'I forbear at present.' For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entituled '*A State of the Case of the Commonwealth*,' published in January 1653.[9] And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and

[9] Read it he who wants satisfaction: 'Printed by Thomas Newcomb, London, 1653-4;'—'wrote with great spirit of language and subtilty of argument,' says the *Parliamentary History* (xx. 419).

may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them,—it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay! Of which I never yet had a word from you! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting-up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands 'upon,'—it looks as if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it's *well* your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all! [*Old Parliament looks agitated; —agitated, yet constant!*]

This Government called you hither; the constitution thereof being limited so,—a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation;—having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other;—and yet not to found *Dominium in Gratiâ* 'either.' [*Your Highness does not claim to be here as Kings do, By Grace, then? No!*] And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this 'Frame of' Government; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal? And what their judgment is, is visible,—by submission to it; by acting upon it; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification! [*Hear!*] But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this 'Frame of' Government, 'a question' referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament,—of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer:—how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing:—how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People? Or to recede from anything which he might be convinced

casts the balance too much to the Single Person? And although, for the present, the keeping-up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest 'condition,' yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to *get* it 'for the sake of this Cause:'—what would become of us all! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time*,—it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation *shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated? —What if I should say: If there *be* a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand!—

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me known your grounds! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to *you*. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing? No fitness to listen to it? No desire of a right understanding? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation? I will say this to you for myself; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it; and I have the witness 'too' of divers here, who I think truly 'would' scorn to own me in a lie: That I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People. ["*Our sanction not needed, then!*"]

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But I must tell you

this: That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest,—which in my conscience 'I think' is dear to many of you; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement:—so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government,[10] offered me this one, this one thing,—I speak as thus advised, and before God; as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak:—if, 'I say,' this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditarily, I would have rejected it![11] And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason;—though I cannot tell what God *will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the Nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews; and 'that He' placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His People. And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, "That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning," I did not know but that God might 'now' begin,—and though, at present, with a most unworthy person; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner; and I thought this might usher it in! [*A noble thought, your Highness!*] I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love of God, and to Truth and Justice; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes:* "Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man?" Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan; because the Government is made a patrimony!—And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness; as being my own concernment;—and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the

[10] Means 'the existing Instrument of Government' without modification of yours.

[11] The matter in debate, running very high at this juncture, in the Parliament, was with regard to the Single Person's being *hereditary*. Hence partly the Protector's emphasis here.

Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking;—especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty; 'so' that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you! I told you that I came with joy the first time; with some regret the second; yet now I speak with most regret of all! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay-down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay-down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities! I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me; 'this of speaking these things to you.' I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. 'Sitting thus long;' and what have you brought forth? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate; that were too paganish a word. But there hath been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. [*Hear the "dilemmas."*] Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. [*Hear!*] If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. [*Yea!*] If it be of man, it will tumble; as everything that hath been of man

since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted? [*Yes, your Highness; such is, was and forever will be, the History of Man, deeply as we poor Moderns have now forgotten it: and the Bible of every Nation is its Own History; if it have, or had, any real Bible!*] And as this is, so 'let' the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence, —then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if He will do us good,—He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is an hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord: and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them: those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. 'His,' though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the hearts of His People. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, "It is an easy thing to talk of "Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the Lord "Protector make himself great and his family great? Doth not "he make these Necessities? And then he will come upon the

"People with his argument of Necessity!"—This were something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet known what it is to "make Necessities," whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, "made Necessities." I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, "My glory I will not give unto another," let men take heed and be twice advised how they call His Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another,—how, I say, they call them Necessities of men's creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast; but 'were' sudden Providences in things: whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposings of the Almighty; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth!

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If you would consider[12] the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is

[12] 'if that you would revolve' in orig.

scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

"It was," say some, "the cunning of the Lord Protector,"—I take it to myself,—"it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about!" And, as they say in other countries, "There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill; they do all these things." Oh, what blasphemy is this! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God,—who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath He not given us liberty, nay is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received,—except we will exclude the Spirit; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. [*Yea, your Highness; the true God's-Voice, Voice of the Eternal, is in the heart of every Man;—there, wherever else it be.*] He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men; and leadeth them to His Law and Testimony, and there 'also' He speaks to them: and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job: "God speaketh "once, yea twice;" and to that of David: "God hath spoken once, "yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their *mumpsimus* and *sumpsimus* [*Bulstrode looks astonished*], their Masses and Service-books, their dead and carnal worship,—no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe thus, must we do so too? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them,—judge you if God will bear this? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these! According to the Tenth of the *Hebrews:* "If we sin wilfully after that we "have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more "sacrifice for sin." 'A terrible word.' It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What then?

Nothing but a fearful "falling into the hands of the Living God!" —They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us; and 'fancy' that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself, "upon whose shoulders the Government is laid," —they speak against God, and they fall under His hand without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the Spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His works in the world; by which He rules kingdoms, and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength,—we provoke the Mediator: and He may say: I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you; let Him tear you to pieces! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God!—Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, "This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,"—take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions!—I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea repining at God Himself. And no wonder; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us!—

There is another Necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men,—if I shall 'now' raise money according to the Article in the Government, 'whether I am not compelled to do it!' Which 'Government' had power to call you hither; and did;—and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope, this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so:—but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible,—through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,—to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there [*General*

Monk], a faithful and honest man, that so another [*Colonel Overton*] might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but "The Army are in discontent already; and we "will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast-off "their governors and discipline"? What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other [*Building Constitutions*], and pretending liberty and many good words,—whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe.* A temporary suspension of "caring for the greatest liberties and privileges" (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my "liberty" to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!—

I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment[13] with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God;—and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.*

So ends the First Protectorate Parliament; suddenly, very unsuccessfully. A most poor hidebound Pedant Parliament; which reckoned itself careful of the Liberties of England; and was careful only of the Sheepskin Formulas of these; very blind to the Realities of these! Regardless of the facts and clamorous necessities of the Present, this Parliament considered that its one duty was to tie-up the hands of the Lord Protector well; to give him no supplies, no power; to make him and keep him the bound vassal and errand-man of this and succeeding Parliaments. This once well done, they thought all was

[13] Means 'sense excited by it.'

* Old Pamphlet: reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 404-431.

done :—Oliver thought far otherwise. Their painful new-modelling and rebuilding of the Instrument of Government, with an eye to this sublime object, was pointing towards completion, little now but the key-stones to be let in :—when Oliver suddenly withdrew the centres! Constitutional arch and ashlar-stones, scaffolding, workmen, mortar-troughs and scaffold-poles sink in swift confusion; and disappear, regretted or remembered by no person,—not by this Editor for one.

By the arithmetical account of heads in England, the Lord Protector may surmise that he has lost his Enterprise. But by the real divine and human worth of thinking-souls in England, he still believes that he has it; by this, and by a higher mission too;—and "will take a little pleasure to lose his life" before he loses it! He is not here altogether to count heads, or to count costs, this Lord Protector; he is in the breach of battle; placed there, as he understands, by his Great Commander: whatsoever his difficulties be, he must fight them, cannot quit them; must fight there till he die. This is the law of his position, in the eye of God, and also of men. There is no return for him out of this Protectorship he has got into! Called to this post as I have been, placed in it as I am, "To quit it, is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave, and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto!"—

PART IX.

THE MAJOR-GENERALS.

1655—1656.

CHRONOLOGICAL.

The Plots and perils to the Commonwealth which my Lord Protector spoke of to his honourable Members, were not an imagination, but a very tragic reality. Under the shadow of this Constitutioning Parliament strange things had been ripening: without some other eye than the Parliament's, Constitution and Commonwealth in general had been, by this time, in a bad way! A universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists is in a real state of progress. Dim meetings there have been of Royalist Gentlemen, on nocturnal moors, in this quarter and in that, 'with cart-loads of arms,'—terrified at their own jingle, and rapidly dispersing again till the grand hour come. Anabaptist Levellers have had dim meetings, dim communications; will prefer Charles Stuart himself to the traitor Oliver, who has dared to attempt actual 'governing' of men. Charles Stuart has come down to Middleburg, on the Dutch coast, to be in readiness; 'Hyde is cock-sure.'[1] From the dreary old *Thurloes*, and rubbish-continents, of Spy Letters, Intercepted Letters, Letters of Intelligence; where, scattered at huge intervals, the History of England for those years still lies entombed, it is manifest enough what a winter and spring this was in England. A Protector left without supplies, obliged to cut his Parliament adrift, and front the matter alone; England, from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion; for a universal blazing-up of all the heterogeneous combustibilities it had; the Sacred Majesty waiting at Middleburg, and Hyde cock-sure!

Nevertheless it came all to nothing;—there being a Protector in it. The Protector, in defect of Parliaments, issued his own Ordinance, the best he could, for payment of old rates and taxes; which, as the necessity was evident, and the sum fixed upon was low, rather lower than had been expected, the Country quietly complied with. Indispensable supply was obtained: and as for the Plots, the Protector had long had his eye on them, had long had his nooses round them;—the Protector strangled them everywhere at the moment suitablest for him, and lodged the ringleaders of them in the Tower. Let us, as usual, try to extricate a few small elucidative facts from the hideous old Pamphletary Imbroglio, where facts

[1] Manning's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iii. 384.

and figments, ten thousand facts of no importance to one fact of some, lie mingled, like the living with the dead, in noisome darkness all of them: once extricated, they may assist the reader's fancy a little. Of Oliver's own in reference to this period, too characteristic a period to be omitted, there is little or nothing left us: a few detached Letters, hardly two of them very significant of Oliver; which cannot avail us much, but shall be inserted at their due places.

February 12*th*, 1654-5. News came this afternoon that Major John Wildman, chief of the *frantic* Anabaptist Party, upon whom the Authorities have had their eye of late, has been seized at Exton, near Marlborough, in Wilts; 'by a party of Major Butler's horse.' In his furnished lodging; 'in a room upstairs;' his door stood open: stepping softly up, the troopers found him leaning on his elbow, dictating to his clerk 'A Declaration of the free and well-affected People of England now 'in Arms' (or shortly to be in Arms) 'against the Tyrant Oliver Crom-'well:'[2] a forcible piece, which can still be read, but only as a fragment, the zealous Major never having had occasion to finish it. They carried him to Chepstow Castle; locked him up there: and the free and well-affected People of England never got to Arms against the Tyrant, but were only in hopes of getting. Wildman was in the last Parliament; but could not sign the Recognition; went away in virtuous indignation, to act against the Tyrant by stratagem henceforth. He has been the centre of an extensive world of Plots this winter, as his wont from of old was: the mainspring of Royalist Anabaptistry, what we call the *frantic* form of Republicanism, which hopes to attain its object by assisting even Charles Stuart against the Tyrant Oliver. A stirring man; very flamy and very fuliginous: perhaps, since Freeborn John was sealed-up in Jersey, the noisiest man in England. The turning of the key on him in Chepstow will be a deliverance to us henceforth.

We take his capture as the termination of the Anabaptist-Royalist department of the Insurrection. Thurloe has now got all the threads of this Wildman business in his hand: the ringleaders are laid in prison, Harrison, Lord Grey of Groby and various others; kept there out of harm's way; dealt with in a rigorous, yet gentle, and what we must call great and manful manner. It is remarked of Oliver that none of this Party was ever brought to trial: his hope and wish was always that they might yet be reconciled to him. Colonel Sexby, once Captain Sexby, Trooper Sexby, our old acquaintance, one of Wildman's people,—has escaped on this occasion: better for himself had he been captured now, and saved from still madder courses he got into.

Sunday March 11*th*, 1654-5, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. What may be called the general

[2] Whitlocke, p. 599; *Cromwelliana*, p. 151.

outcome of the Royalist department of the Insurrection. This too over England generally has, in all quarters where it showed itself, found some 'Major Butler' with due 'troops of horse' to seize it, to trample it out, and lay the ringleaders under lock and key. Hardly anywhere could it get the length of fighting: too happy if it could but gallop and hide. In Yorkshire, there was some appearance, and a few shots fired; but to no effect: poor Sir Henry Slingsby, and a Lord Malevrier, and others were laid hold of here; of whom the Lord escaped by stratagem; and poor Sir Henry lies prisoner in Hull,—where it will well behove him to keep quiet if he can! But on the Sunday night above mentioned, peaceful Salisbury is awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir Joseph Wagstaff, 'a jolly knight' of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel; he with Squire or Colonel Penruddock, 'a gentleman of fair fortune,' Squire or Major Grove, also of some fortune, and about Two-hundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the big Steeple that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts.

It was Assize time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous;—proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning, which Mr. Hyde thinks it would have been; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him; Town-crier will not, not even he though you hang him. The Insurrection does not speed in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, hearing that troopers are on foot; marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches;—but Captain Unton Crook, whom we once saw before, marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire 'on Wednesday about ten at night,' and there in few minutes puts an end to it. 'They fired out of windows on us,' but could make nothing of it. We took Penruddock, Grove, and long lists of others: Wagstaff unluckily escaped.[3] The unfortunate men were tried, at Exeter, by a regular assize and jury; were found guilty, some of High Treason, some of 'Horse-stealing:' Penruddock and Grove, stanch Royalists both and gallant men, were beheaded; several were hanged; a great many 'sent to Barbadoes;'—and this Royalist conflagration too, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out, having amounted to smoke merely, whereby many eyes are bleared! Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle

[3] Crook's Letter, 'South Molton, 15th March 1654, two or three in the morning' (King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 637, § 15). *State Trials*, v. 767 et seqq.; Whitlocke, p. 601; Thurloe, iii. 365, 384, 391, 445; *Cromwelliana*, pp. 152-3.—Official Letters in reference to this Plot, Appendix, No. 28.

of it,—had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow,—in that case, thinks the Lord Protector not without some indignation, they had known![4] Wagstaff has escaped, and Wilmot Earl of Rochester so-called; right glad to be beyond seas again; and will look twice at an Insurrection before they embark in it in time coming.

A terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset! He has the ring-leaders all in his hand, in prison or still at large;—as they love their estates and their life, let them be quiet. He can take your estate:—is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt 'to *barbadoes*' an unruly man,—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it: 'barbadoes you.'[5] Safest to let this Protector alone! Charles Stuart withdraws from Middleburg into the interior obscurities; and Mr. Hyde will not be so cock-sure another time. Mr. Hyde, much pondering how his secret could have been let out, finds that it is an underling of his, one Mr. Manning, a gentleman by birth, 'fond of fine clothes,' and in very straitened circumstances at present, who has been playing the traitor. Indisputably a traitor: wherefore the King in Council has him doomed to death; has him shot, in winter following, 'in the Duke of Neuburg's territory.'[6] Diligent Thurloe finds others to take his place.

May 28th, 1655. Desborow, who commands the Regular Troops in that insurrectionary Southwest region, is, by Commission bearing date this day, appointed *Major-General* of the Militia-forces likewise, and of all manner of civic and military forces at the disposal of the Commonwealth in those parts. Major-General over six counties specified in this Document; with power somewhat enlarged, and not easy to specify,—power, in fact, to look after the peace of the Commonwealth there, and do what the Council of State shall order him.[7] He coerces Royalists; questions, commits to custody suspected persons; keeps down disturbance by such methods as, on the spot, he finds wisest. A scheme found to answer well. The beginning of a universal Scheme of MAJOR-GENERALS, which develops itself into full maturity in the autumn of this year; the Lord Protector and his Council of State having well considered it in the interim, and found it the feasiblest; if not *good*, yet best.

By this Scheme, which we may as well describe here as afterwards, All England is divided into Districts; Ten Districts, a Major-General for each; let him be a man most carefully chosen, a man of real wisdom, valour and veracity, a man fearing God and hating covetousness; for his

[4] Postea, Speech V.

[5] Intercepted Letters, Thurloe, iii.

[6] Clarendon, iii. 752; Whitlocke, p. 618 (Dec. 1655); Ludlow, ii. 608.

[7] Thurloe, iii. 486.

powers are great. He looks after the Good of the Commonwealth, spiritual and temporal, as he finds wisest. Ejects, or aids in ejecting, scandalous ministers; summons disaffected, suspected persons before him; demands an account of them; sends them to prison, failing an account that satisfies him;—and there is no appeal except to the Protector in Council. His force is the Militia of his Counties; horse and foot, levied and kept in readiness for the occasion; especially troops of horse. Involving, of course, new expense;—which we decide that the Plotting Royalists, who occasion it, shall pay. On all Royalist disaffected Persons the Major-General therefore, as his first duty, is to lay an *Income-tax of Ten per-cent;* let them pay it quietly, or it may be worse for them. They pay it very quietly. Strange as it may seem, the Country submits very quietly to this arrangement;—the Major-Generals being men carefully chosen. "It is an arbitrary Government!" murmur many. Yes; arbitrary, but beneficial. These are powers unknown to the English Constitution, I believe; but they are very necessary for the Puritan English Nation at this time. With men of real wisdom, who do fear God and hate covetousness, when you can find such men, you may to some purpose intrust considerable powers!

It is in this way that Oliver Protector coerces the unruly elements of England; says to them: "Peace, ye! With the aid of Parliament and venerable Parchment, if so may be; without it, if so may not be,—I, called hither by a very good Authority, will hold you down. Quiet shall you, for your part, keep yourselves; or be 'barbadoesed,' and worse. Mark it; not while I live shall you have dominion, you nor the Master of you!"—Cock-matches, Horse-races and other loose assemblages are, for limited times, forbidden; over England generally, or in Districts where it may be thought somewhat is a-brewing. Without cock-fighting we can do; but not without Peace, and the absence of Charles Stuart and his Copartneries. It is a Government of some arbitrariness.

And yet singular, observes my learned friend, how popular it seems to grow. These considerable infringements of the constitutional fabric, prohibition of cock-fights, amercings of Royalists, taxing without consent in Parliament, seem not to awaken the indignation of England; rather almost the gratitude and confidence of England. Next year, we have 'Letters of great appearances of the Country at the Assizes; and how the 'Gentlemen of the greatest quality served on Grand Juries; which is fit 'to be observed.'[8]

We mention, but cannot dwell upon it, another trait belonging to those Spring Months of 1655: the quarrel my Lord Protector had in regard to his Ordinance for the Reform of Chancery. Ordinance passed merely by the Protector in Council; never confirmed by any Parliament;

[8] Whitlocke, p. 624 (April 1656).

which nevertheless he insists upon having obeyed. How our learned Bulstrode, learned Widdrington, two of the Keepers of the Great Seal durst not obey; and Lisle the other Keeper durst;—and Old-Speaker Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, "would be hanged at the Rolls Gate before he would obey." What profound consults there were among us; buzz in the Profession, in the Public generally. And then how Oliver Protector, with delicate patient bridle-hand and yet with resolute spur, made us all obey, or else go out of that,—which latter step Bulstrode and Widdrington, with a sublime conscientious feeling, preferred to take, the big heart saying to itself, "I have lost a thousand pounds a-year!" And Lenthall, for all his bragging, was not hanged at the Rolls Gate; but kept his skin whole, and his salary whole, and did as he was bidden. The buzz in the Profession, notwithstanding much abatement of fees, had to compose itself again.[9]—Bulstrode adds, some two months hence, 'The Protector 'being good-natured, and sensible of his harsh proceeding against Whit-'locke and Widdrington,' made them Commissioners of the Treasury, which was a kind of compensation. There, with Montague and Sydenham, they had a moderately good time of it; but saw, not without a sigh, the Great Seal remain with Lisle who durst obey, and for colleague to him a certain well-known Nathaniel Fiennes, a shrewd man, Lord Say and Sele's son,—who knew nothing of that business, says Bulstrode, nay Lisle himself knew nothing of it till he learned it from *us*.[10] Console thyself, big heart. How seldom is sublime virtue rewarded in this world!

June 3d, 1655. This day come sad news out of Piedmont; confirmation of bad rumours there had been, which deeply affects all pious English hearts, and the Protector's most of all. It appears the Duke of Savoy had, not long since, decided on having certain poor Protestant subjects of his converted at last to the Catholic Religion. Poor Protestant people, who dwell in the obscure valleys 'of Lucerna, of Perosa and St. Martin,' among the feeders of the Po, in the Savoy Alps: they are thought to be descendants of the old Waldenses; a pious inoffensive people: dear to the hearts and imaginations of all Protestant men. These, it would appear, the Duke of Savoy, in the past year, undertook to himself to get converted; for which object he sent friars to preach among them. The friars could convert nobody; one of the friars, on the contrary, was found assassinated,—signal to the rest that they had better take themselves away. The Duke thereupon sent other missionaries: six regiments of Catholic soldiers; and an order to the People of the Valleys either to be converted straightway, or quit the country at once. They could not be converted all at once: neither could they quit the country well; the month was December; among the Alps; and it was their home for

[9] Whitlocke, pp. 602-8.

[10] Ibid. p. 608.

immemorial years! Six regiments, however, say they must; six Catholic regiments;—and three of them are Irish, made of the banished *Kurisees* we knew long since; whose humour, on such an occasion, we can guess at! It is admitted they behaved 'with little ceremony;' it is not to be denied they behaved with much bluster and violence: ferocities, atrocities, to the conceivable amount, still stand in authentic black-on-white against them. The Protestants of the Valleys were violently driven out of house and home, not without slaughters and tortures by the road;—had to seek shelter in French Dauphiné, or where they could; and, in mute or spoken supplication, appeal to all generous hearts of men. The saddest confirmation of the actual banishment, the actual violences done, arrives at Whitehall this day, 3d June 1655.[11]

Pity is perennial: "Ye have *compassion* on one another,"—is it not notable, beautiful? In our days too, there are Polish Balls and suchlike: but the pity of the Lord Protector and Puritan England for these poor Protestants among the Alps is not to be measured by ours. The Lord Protector is melted into tears, and roused into sacred fire. This day the French Treaty, not unimportant to him, was to be signed: this day he refuses to sign it till the King and Cardinal undertake to assist him in getting right done in those poor Valleys.[12] He sends the poor exiles 2,000*l.* from his own purse; appoints a Day of Humiliation and a general Collection over England for that object;—has, in short, decided that he will bring help to these poor men; that England and he will see them helped and righted. How Envoys were sent; how blind Milton wrote Letters to all Protestant States, calling on them for coöperation; how the French Cardinal was shy to meddle, and yet had to meddle, and compel the Duke of Savoy, much astonished at the business, to do justice and *not* what he liked with his own: all this, recorded in the unreadablest stagnant deluges of old Official Correspondence,[13] is very certain, and ought to be fished therefrom and made more apparent.

In all which, as we can well believe, it was felt that the Lord Protector had been the Captain of England, and had truly expressed the heart and done the will of England;—in this, as in some other things. Milton's Sonnet and Six Latin Letters are still readable; the Protector's Act otherwise remains mute hitherto. Small damage to the Protector, if no other suffer thereby! Let it stand here as a symbol to us of his Foreign Policy in general; which had this one object, testified in all manner of negotiations and endeavours, noticed by us and not noticed, To make England Queen of the Protestant world; her, if there were no worthier Queen. To unite the Protestant world of struggling Light against the

[11] Letter of the French Ambassador (in *Thurloe*, iii. 470).

[12] Thurloe, ubi supra.

[13] Ibid. (much of vol. iii.); Vaughan's *Protectorate*, &c.

Papist world of potent Darkness. To stand upon God's Gospel, as the actual intrinsic Fact of this Practical Earth; and defy all potency of Devil's Gospels on the strength of that. Wherein, again, Puritan England felt gradually that this Oliver *was* her Captain; and in heart could not but say, Long life to him!—as we do now.

Let us note one other small private trait of Oliver in these months; and then hasten to the few Letters we have. Dull Bulstrode has jotted down: 'The Protector feasted the Commissioners for Approbation of Ministers.'[14] Means the Commission of Triers;[15] whom he has to dinner with him in Whitehall. Old Sir Francis, Dr. Owen and the rest. 'He 'sat at table with them; and was cheerful and familiar in their com-'pany:' Hope you are getting on, my friends: how this is, and how that is? 'By such kind of little caresses,' adds Bulstrode, 'he gained much upon many persons.' Me, as a piece of nearly matchless law-learning and general wisdom, I doubt he never sufficiently respected; though he knew my fat qualities too, and was willing to use and recognise them!—

[14] Whitlocke, April 1655.

[15] Vol. ii. p. 297.

LETTERS CXCVIII.—CCIII.

Six Letters of somewhat miscellaneous character; which we must take in mass, and with no word of Commentary that can be spared. Straggling accidental lightbeams, accidentally preserved to us, and still transiently illuminating this feature or that of the Protector and his business,—let them be welcome in the darkness for what they are.

LETTER CXCVIII.

Besides the great Sea-Armament that sailed from Portsmouth last December, and went Westward, with sealed orders, which men begin to guess were for the Spanish West Indies,—the Protector had another Fleet fitted out under Blake, already famous as a Sea-General; which has been in the Mediterranean during these late months; exacting reparation for damages, old or recent, done to the English Nation or to individuals of it, by the Duke of Florence or by others; keeping an eye on Spain too, and its Plate Fleets, apparently with still ulterior objects.

The Duke of Florence has handsomely done justice; the Dey of Tunis was not so well advised, and has repented of it. There are Letters, dated March last, though they do not come till June: 'Letters that General 'Blake demanding at Tunis reparation for the losses of the English from 'Turkish Pirates, the Dey answered him with scorn, and bade him behold 'his Castles.' Blake did behold them; 'sailed into the Harbour within 'musket-shot of them; and though the shore was planted with great 'guns, he set upon the Turkish ships, fired nine of them,' and brought the Dey to reason, we apprehend.[1]

To General Blake, 'at Sea.'

Sir, Whitehall, 13th June 1655.

I have received yours of the 25th of March, which gives account of the late Transactions between yourself and the

[1] Whitlocke, p. 608 (8th June 1655).

Governors of Tunis, concerning the losses which the English have sustained by the piracies of that place; and 'of' the success it pleased God to give in the attempt you made upon their shipping, after their positive refusal to give you satisfaction upon your just demands. And as we have great cause to acknowledge the good hand of God towards us in this Action, who, in all the circumstances thereof, as they have been represented by you, was pleased to appear very signally with you; so I think myself obliged to take notice of your courage and good conduct therein; and do esteem that you have done therein a very considerable service to this Commonwealth.

I hope you have received the former Despatches which were sent unto you by the way of Legorne, for your coming into Cadiz Bay with the Fleet; as also those which were sent by a Ketch immediately from hence; whereby you had also notice of three-months provisions then preparing to be sent,—which have since been sent away, under convoy of the Frigates the *Centurion* and *Dragon;* and 'I' hope they are safely arrived with you, they sailing from hence about the 28th of April.

With this come farther Instructions concerning your disposing of the Fleet for the future; whereunto we do refer you. Besides which, we, having taken into consideration the present Design we have in the West Indies, have judged it necessary, That not only the King of Spain's Fleets coming from thence be intercepted (which as well your former Instructions as those now sent unto you require and authorise you to do), but that we endeavour also, as much as in us lies, to hinder him from sending any relief or assistance thither. You are therefore, during your abode with the Fleet in those seas, to inform yourself, by the best means you can, concerning the going of the King of Spain's Fleet for the West Indies; and shall, according to such information as you can gain, use your best endeavours to intercept at sea, and fight with and take them, or otherwise to fire and sink them; as also any other of his ships which you shall understand to be bound for the West Indies with provisions of War, for the aid and assistance of his subjects there; carrying yourself towards other of his ships and people as you are directed by your general Instructions. 'I rest,

'Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

* Thurloe, iii. 547. (Same day, Letter to Poet Waller: Appendix, No. 28, § 7.)

The Sea-Armament *was* for the West Indies, then: good news of it were welcome!

Here is a short Letter of Blake's to the Protector, dated just the day before; in cipher;—which the reader, having never perhaps seen another Letter of Blake's, will not be displeased with. Unimportant; but bringing the old Seas, with their Puritan Sea-kings, with their 'Plate Fleets,' and vanished populations and traffics, bodily before us for moments.

"George, 12th June 1655.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—The secret Instructions sent by "your Highness, referring me to a former Instruction, touching the "Silver Fleet of Spain coming from America, I have received; and shall "carefully observe the same. We had information at Cadiz that the "Fleet was expected about a month or five weeks hence. We are now "off Cape Mary's; intending to spread with our Fleet what we can, and "to range this sea, according to the wind and the information we can "get; plying likewise over towards Cape Sprat, it being their most likely "and usual course. They of Cadiz are very distrustful of us; and there "being four Galeons designed for the Mediterranean, and six for New "Spain, it is doubtful how they may be employed.

"We shall use our best endeavours to put the Instructions in execu- "tion, as God shall afford an opportunity; desiring your Highness to "rest assured of our diligence, and of the integrity of,—your most humble "and faithful servant,

"ROBERT BLAKE."[2]

June 13th is Wednesday. On the morrow is universal Fast-Day, Humiliation and Prayer, and public Collection of Money for the Protestants of Piedmont. A day of much pious emotion in England; and of liberal contribution, which continued on the following days. 'Clerks come to every man's house,' says a disaffected witness; 'come with their papers, and you 'are forced to contribute.' The exact amount realised I never could very authentically learn. The Dutch Ambassador says 100,000*l.* The disaffected witness says, 'London City itself gave half-'a-million,'—or seemed as it would give. 'The Ministers played their 'part to the full,'—the Ministers and the People and their Ruler. No French Treaty signed or signable till this thing be managed. At length the French were obliged to manage it; 9th September of this same year the thing was got managed;[3]—and by and by was got improved and still better managed, the Protector continuing all his days to watch over it, and over other similar things as they occurred, and to insist on seeing justice done respecting them.

[2] Thurloe, iii. 541.

[3] See Thurloe, iii. 549, 623, 745, &c.

LETTER CXCIX.

THE scheme of Major-Generals for England is not yet come to maturity; but it is coming: new occasional arrests and *barbadoes*ings continue, as the threads of old Plots are traced farther and farther. Monk keeps Scotland quiet; the hydra is for the present well under foot.

Meanwhile Henry Cromwell is despatched for Ireland, to see with his own eyes how matters stand there. A reverend godly Mr. Brewster, hardly known to us otherwise, is also proceeding thither; with whom the Lord Protector thinks good to salute his Son-in-law Fleetwood, the Lord Deputy, Ireton's successor in Ireland. Henry Cromwell was there once before, on a somewhat similar mission, and acquitted himself well.[4] His title, this second time, is Major-General of the Army in Ireland. He is to command the forces in Ireland; one easily believes farther, he is to observe well and report faithfully how affairs are; and do his best to assist in rectifying them. Lord Deputy Fleetwood is by some thought to be of too lax temper for his place: he, with his Ludlows, Axtels and discontented Republicans, not to speak of other businesses, would need energy, if he have it not. Rumour has even risen that Henry Cromwell is now sent to supersede him; which, however, the Protector expressly contradicts.

The rumour nevertheless proved, if not true, yet prophetic of the truth. Henry Cromwell acquitted himself well this second time also; being, as we judge, a man of real insight, veracity and resolution; very fit for such a service. Many of his Letters,[5] all creditable to him, are in *Thurloe:* 'Petitions' from certain Irish parties come likewise to view there, That *he* might be appointed Deputy; which Petitions are, for the present, carefully 'suppressed,' yet have in the end to be complied with;—they and the nature of the case, we suppose, require compliance. Some fifteen months hence, Henry is appointed Lord Deputy;[5] Fleetwood, in some handsome way, recalled. In which situation Henry continues till the end of the Protectorate, making really an honourable figure; and then, the scene having altogether changed, retires from it into total obscurity, still in a very manful, simple and noble way.[6]

'My dear Biddy,' in this Letter, is Bridget Fleetwood, whom we once saw as Bridget Ireton;[7] who, for her religious and other worth, is 'a joy

[4] March 1653-4 (Thurloe, ii. 149).

[5] 21st November 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 632).

[6] His Letter to Clarendon, in *Thurloe*, i. 763; see also Tanner MSS. li. 71, a prior Letter to Speaker Lenthall.

[7] Vol. i. p. 227.

to my heart.' Of 'Mr. Brewster,' and the other reverend persons, Spiritual Fathers, held in such regard by the Lord Protector as is due to Spiritual Fatherhood, and pious nobleness of Intellect under whatever guise, I can say nothing; they are Spiritual Great-*grand*-fathers of ours, and we have had to forget them! Some slight notices of Brewster, who I think was a Norfolk man, and more of Cradock, who was Welsh,—zealous Preachers both,—are in the *Milton State-Papers:*[8] they prove the fervent zeal, faith and fearlessness of these worthies;—not necessary to extract in this place. Cradock writes to Cromwell in 1652 that his heart overflows with prayers and praise to God for sending such a man; that he has often stept aside to pray for him, in some thicket or ditch by the wayside, while travelling along, and thinking of him;—which Dryasdust Nicols, the Editor of these *Milton State-Papers*, considers a very ludicrous proceeding. Godly 'Mr. Tillinghurst,' so noble a phenomenon to Oliver and Fleetwood, is to us fallen altogether silent:—seemingly some godly Preacher, of very modest nature; who, in his old days, being brought once before the Lord Protector, cried it was a 'shame' to trouble any Lord Protector, or Sovereign Person, with the like of him! The venerable hoary man. And godly Mr. Troughton, or 'Throughton,' too, was there. O Tillinghurst, O Troughton, how much lies buried![9]

'To the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland.'

DEAR CHARLES, 'Whitehall,' 22d June 1655.

I write not often: at once I desire thee to know I most dearly love thee; and indeed my heart is plain to thee as thy heart can well desire: let nothing shake thee in this. The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all into gall and wormwood. My heart is for the People of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds;—which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything; though indeed very many good 'are'

[8] pp. 85, 158, &c.

[9] Buried but indisputable traces of this Tillinghurst, certain authentic, still legible entries concerning him, in one of which Brewster too is named, have been detected by a friendly eye in the Record-Book of the Independent Church at Great Yarmouth; where Tillinghurst, it clearly enough appears, was Minister from 1651 to 1654, and much followed and valued as a Preacher and Spiritual Guide in those parts. Brewster, likewise an Independent, was of Alby in the same neighbourhood.—Ms. Excerpts penes me (*Note to Third Edition*).

well satisfied, and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time.

It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy; which truly never entered into my heart. The Lord knows, my desire was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the country: and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was persuaded to give him his commission for his present place. This I say as from a simple and sincere heart. The noise of my being crowned &c. are similar[10] malicious figments.

Use this Bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly. Let him be near you: indeed he is a very able holy man; trust me you will find him so. He was a bosom-friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock;—Mr. Throughton, a godly minister being by, with 'Mr. Tillinghurst' himself, who cried "Shame!"

Dear Charles, my dear love to thee; 'and' to my dear Biddy, who is a joy to my heart, for what I hear of the Lord in her. Bid her be cheerful, and rejoice in the Lord once and again: if she knows the Covenant,[11] she cannot but do 'so.' For that Transaction is without *her*, sure and stedfast, between the Father and the Mediator in His blood: therefore, leaning upon the Son, or looking to Him, thirsting after Him, and embracing Him, we are His Seed; —and the Covenant is sure to all the Seed. The Compact is for the Seed: God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in Him to us: the Covenant is without *us;* a Transaction between God and Christ.[12] Look up to *it*. God engageth in it to pardon us; to write His Law in our heart; to plant His fear 'so' that we shall never depart from Him. We, under all our sins and infirmities, can daily offer a perfect Christ; and thus we have peace and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant,—who cannot deny Himself. And truly in this is all my salvation; and this helps me to bear my great burdens.

If you have a mind to come over with your dear Wife &c., take the best opportunity for the good of the Public and your own

[10] 'like' in orig.

[11] Covenant of Grace; much expounded, and insisted on, by Dr. Owen, among others; and ever a most fundamental point of God's Arrangement, according to the theory of Oliver.

[12] The reader who discerns no spiritual meaning in all this, shall try it again, if I may advise him.

convenience. The Lord bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lord would direct, and keep me His servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own;—but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard. Pray for me; I do for you all. Commend me to all friends. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.*

Courage, my brave Oliver! Thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this Earth, and of its poor unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, and Charles Stuart the Christian King, can work their will; for thou hast done with it, thou art above it in the serene azure forevermore!

Fleetwood, I observe, did come over: in January next we find the 'Lord Deputy' busy here in London with Bulstrode, and others of the Treasury, on high matters of State.[13] He did not return to Ireland; got into Major-Generalings, into matters of State, on this side the Channel; and so ended his Deputyship;—dropping without violence, like fruit fully ripe; the management of Ireland having gradually all shifted into Henry Cromwell's hand in the interim.

LETTER CC.

HERE, fluttering loose on the dim confines of Limbo and the Night-realm, is a small Note of Oliver's, issuing one knows not whence, but recognisable as his, which we must snatch and save. A private and thrice-private Note, for Secretary Thurloe; curiously disclosing to us, as one or two other traits elsewhere do, that, with all his natural courtesies, noble simplicities and affabilities, this Lord Protector knew on occasion the word-of-command too, and what the meaning of a Lord Protector, King, or Chief Magistrate in the Commonwealth of England was.

'Margery Beacham,' Wife of William Beacham, Mariner, lives, the somnolent Editors do not apprise us where,—probably in London or some of the Out Ports; certainly in considerable indigence at present. Her poor Husband, in the course of 'many services to the Commonwealth by sea and land,' has quite lost the use of his right arm; has a poor 'Pension of Forty shillings allowed him from Chatham;' has Margery, and one poor Boy Randolph, 'tractable to learn,' but who can get no schooling out of such an income. Wherefore, as seems but reasonable, Margery

* Thurloe, iii. 572.

[13] Whitlocke, p. 618 (7th Jan. 1655-6).

petitions his Highness that the said Randolph might be admitted 'a Scholar of Sutton's Hospital, commonly called the Charterhouse,' in London.[14]

His Highness, who knows the services of William Beacham, and even 'a secret service' of his not mentioned in the Petition or Certificates, straightway decides that the Boy Beacham is clearly a case for Sutton's Bounty, and that the Commissioners of the same shall give it him. But now it seems the Chief Commissioner, whose name in this Note stands —— *Blank Blank*, is not so prompt in the thing; will consider it, will &c. Consider it? His Highness dockets the Petition, 'We *refer* this 'to the Commissioners for Sutton's Hospital: 28th July 1655;' and instructs Thurloe to inform Blank Blank that he had much better not consider it, but do it! Which there is no doubt Blank Blank now saw at once to be the real method of the business.

'*To Mr. Secretary Thurloe.*'

'Whitehall,' 28th July 1655.

You receive from me, this 28th instant, a Petition from Margery Beacham, desiring the admission of her Son into the Charterhouse; whose Husband[15] was employed one day in an important secret service, which he did effectually, to our great benefit and the Commonwealth's.

I have wrote under it a common Reference to the Commissioners; but I mean a great deal more: That it shall be done, without their debate or consideration of the matter. And so do you privately hint to ——— ———. I have not the particular shining bauble for crowds to gaze at or kneel to, but—To be short, I know how to deny Petitions; and whatever I think proper, for outward form, to "refer" to any Officer or Office, I expect that such my compliance with custom shall be looked upon as an indication of my will and pleasure to have the thing *done*.

Thy true friend,

OLIVER P.*

[14] Her Petition printed, without date, in Scatcherd, &c. ubi infra.

[15] 'who' in the hasty original, as if Margery's self or Son were meant.

* Scatcherd's *History of Morley* (Leeds, 1830), p. 332. Printed there, and in *Annual Register* (for 1758, p. 268), and elsewhere; without commentary, or indication Whence or How,—with several impertinent interpolations which are excluded here. In the *Annual Register* vague reference is made to a Book called *Collection of Letters &c.* 'compiled by Leonard Howard, D.D.,' who seems to be the first publisher of this Note; author, I suppose, of the impertinent interpolations, which vary in different copies, but being exactly indicated in all, are easily thrown out again as here. In Howard's Book (a disorganic

LETTER CCI.

We fear there is little chance of the Plate Fleet this year; bad rumours come from the West Indies too, of our grand Armament and Expedition thither. The Puritan Sea-king meanwhile keeps the waters; watches the coasts of Spain;—which, however, are growing formidable at present.

The 'Person bound for Lisbon' is Mr. Meadows, one of Secretary Thurloe's Under-secretaries; concerning whom and whose business there will be farther speech by and by. Of the 'Commissioners of the Admiralty' we name only Colonel Montague of Hinchinbrook, who is getting very deep in these mattters, and may himself be Admiral one day.

To the General of the Fleet, 'General Blake, at Sea.'

Sir, 'Whitehall,' 30th July 1655.

We have received yours of the 4th, as also that of the 6th instant, both at once; the latter signifying the great preparations which are making against you.

Some intelligence of that nature is also come to us from another hand. Which hath occasioned us to send away this Despatch unto you, immediately upon the receipt of yours, to let you know That we do not judge it safe for you, whilst things are in this condition, to send away any part of the Fleet, as you were directed by our Instructions of the 13th of June;[16] and therefore, notwithstanding those Orders, you are to keep the whole Fleet with you, until you have executed the Secret Instructions,[17] or find the opportunity is over for the doing thereof.

We think it likewise requisite that you keep with you the two Frigates which conveyed the victuals to you; as also the *Nantwich*, which was sent to you with a Person bound for Lisbon with our instructions to that King. And for the defects of the Fleet, the Commissioners of the Admiralty will take care thereof; and be

---

Quarto, London, 1753; one volume published, a second promised but nowhere discoverable), which is credibly described to me as 'one of the most confused farragos ever printed,' search for this Note has been made, twice, to no purpose; and with little hope of elucidation there, had the Note been found. By internal evidence a genuine Note; and legible as we have it.

[16] Antea, Letter CXCVIII.

[17] In Blake's Letter, antea;—they concern the 'Silver Fleet' most likely.

you confident that nothing shall be omitted which can be done here for your supply and encouragement.

I beseech the Lord to be present with you. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Copied 'in Secretary Thurloe's hand;' who has added the following Note: 'With this Letter was sent the intelligence of the twenty ships 'coming across the Straits, and of the thirty-one ships and eight fire-ships '—[*word lost*]—in Cadiz;'—dangerous ships and fire-ships, which belong all now to the vanished generations: and have sailed, one knows not whence, one knows not whither!

COMPLIMENT.

PRECISELY in those same summer days there has come a brilliant Swedish gentleman, as Extraordinary Ambassador to this Country from the King of Swedeland. A hot, high-tempered, clear-shining man; something fierce, metallic in the lustre of him. Whose negotiations, festivities, impatiences, and sudden heats of temper, occupy our friend Bulstrode almost exclusively for a twelvemonth. We will say only, He has come hither to negotiate a still stricter league of amity between the two Countries; in which welcome enterprise the Lord Protector seems rather to complicate him by endeavouring to include the Dutch in it, the Prussians and Danes in it,—to make it, in fact, a general League, or basis for a League, of Protestants against the Power of Rome, and Antichristian Babylon at large; which in these days, under certain Austrian Kaisers, Spanish Kings, Italian Popes, whose names it may be interesting not to remember, is waxing very formidable. It was an object the Protector never ceased endeavouring after; though in this, as in other instances, with only partial, never with entire success.

Observe however, as all Old London observes, on the night of Saturday July 28th, 1655, the far-shining Procession by torchlight. Procession 'from Tower-wharf to the late Sir Abraham Williams's in Westminster;' this brilliant Swedish Gentleman with numerous gilt coaches and innumerable outriders and onlookers, making his advent then and thus; Whitlocke, Montague, Strickland (for we love to be particular) officially escorting him. Observe next how he was nobly entertained three days in that Williams House, at the Protector's charges; and on the third day had

* Thurloe, iii. 688.

his audience of the Protector; in a style of dignity worth noting by Bulstrode. Sir Oliver Fleming; 'galleries full of ladies,' 'Lifeguards in their gray frock-coats with velvet welts;' lanes of gentlemen, seas of general public: conceive it all; truly dignified, decorous; scene 'the Banqueting House of Whitehall, hung with arras:' and how at the upper end of the room the Lord Protector was seen standing 'on a foot-pace and carpet, with a chair of state behind him;' and how the Ambassador saluted thrice as he advanced, thrice lifting his noble hat and feathers, as the Protector thrice lifted his; and then—Bulstrode shall give the rest:

'After a little pause, the Ambassador put off his hat, and began to 'speak, and then put it on again: and whensoever, in his speech, he 'named the King his master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he 'moved his hat: especially if he mentioned anything of God, or the good 'of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still 'answered him in the like postures of civility. The Ambassador spake 'in the Swedish language; and after he had done, being but short, his 'Secretary Berkman did interpret it in Latin to this effect'——Conceivable, without repetition, to ingenious readers. A stately, far-shining speech, done into Latin; 'being but short.'

And now 'after his Interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a 'pretty while; and, putting off his hat to the Ambassador, with a carriage 'full of gravity and state, he answered him in English to this effect:'

My Lord Ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge, with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the King your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular. Whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory; and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his Majesty's friendship and alliance.

My Lord, you are welcome into England; and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a "nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedeland," as that which, in my judgment, will tend much to the honour and commodity of both Nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant Interest. I shall nominate some Persons to meet and treat with your Lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them.

After which, Letters were presented, *etceteras* were transacted, and then, with a carriage full of gravity and state, they all withdrew to their ulterior employments, and the scene vanishes.[18]

[18] Whitlocke, pp. 609-10.

LETTER CCII.

It is too sad a truth, the Expedition to the West Indies has failed! Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables have themselves come home, one after the other, with the disgraceful news; and are lodged in the Tower, a fortnight ago, for quitting their post without orders. Of all which we shall have some word to say anon. But take first these glimpses into other matters, foreign and domestic, on sea and land,—as the Oblivions have chanced to leave them visible for us. 'Cascais Bay' is at the mouth of the Tagus: General Blake seems still king of the waters in those parts.

'To General Blake, at Sea.'

Sir, Whitehall, 13th September 1655.

We have received yours from Cascais Bay, of the 30th of August; and were very sensible of the wants of the Fleet as they were represented by your last before; and had given directions for three-months provisions,—which were all prepared, and sent from Portsmouth, some time since, under the convoy of the *Bristol* Frigate. But the Commissioners of the Admiralty have had Letters yesterday that they were forced back, by contrary winds, into Plymouth, and are there now attending for the first slack of wind, to go to sea again. And the Commissioners of the Admiralty are instructed[19] to quicken them by an express; although it is become very doubtful whether those provisions can 'now' come in time for supplying of your wants.

And for what concerns the fighting of the Fleet of Spain, whereof your said Letter makes mention, we judge it of great consequence, and much for the service of the Commonwealth, that this Fleet were fought; as well in order to the executing your former Instructions, as for the preservation of our ships and interest in the West Indies: and our meaning was, by our former Order, and still is, That the Fleet which shall come for the guarding of the Plate Fleet, as we conceive this doth, should be attempted. But in respect we have not certain knowledge of the strength of the Spanish Fleet, nor of the condition of your Fleet, which may alter

[19] 'commands of the Admiralty are required' in orig.

every day,—we think it reasonable, at this distance, not to oblige you by any positive order to engage; but must, as we do hereby, leave it to you, who are upon the place, and know the state of things, to handle the rein as you shall find your opportunity and the ability of the Fleet to be:—as we also do for your coming home, either for want of provisions or in respect of the season of the year, at such time as you shall judge it to be for the safety of the Fleet. And we trust the Lord will guide and be with you in the management of this thing.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.

'P.S.' In case your return should be so soon as that you should not make use of the Provisions now sent you, or but little thereof, we desire you to cause them to be preserved; they may be applied to other uses.*

LETTER CCIII.

'To the Commissioners of Maryland.'

SIRS, Whitehall, 26th September 1655.

It seems to us by yours of the 29th of June, and by the relation we received by Colonel Bennet, that some mistake or scruple hath arisen concerning the sense of our Letters of the 12th of January last,[20]—as if, by our Letters, we had intimated that we would have a stop put to the proceedings of those Commissioners who were authorised to settle the Civil Government of Maryland. Which was not at all intended by us; nor so much as proposed to us by those who made addresses to us to obtain our said Letter: but our intention (as our said Letter doth plainly import) was only, To prevent and forbid any force or violence to be offered by either of the Plantations of Virginia or Maryland, from one to the other, upon the differences concerning their bounds: the said differences being then under the consideration of Ourself and Council here. Which, for your more full satisfaction, we have thought fit to signify to you; and rest,

Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'†

* Thurloe, i. 724,—in cipher; and seemingly of Thurloe's composition.

[20] Antea, p. 29.

† Thurloe, iv. 55.

A very obscure American Transaction;—sufficiently lucid for our Cisatlantic purposes; nay shedding a kind of light or twilight into extensive dim regions of Oblivion on the other side of the Ocean. Bancroft, and the other American authorities, who have or have not noticed this Letter, will with great copiousness explain the business to the curious.

The Major-Generals are now all on foot, openly since the middle of August last;[21] and an Official Declaration published on the subject. Ten military Major-Generals, Ten or finally Twelve, with militia-forces, horse and foot, at their beck; coercing Royalist Revolt, and other Anarchy; 'decimating' it, that is, levying Ten per-cent upon the Income of it; summoning it, cross-questioning it,—peremptorily signifying to it that it will not be allowed here, that it had better cease in this Country. They have to deal with Quakers also, with Anabaptists, Scandalous Ministers, and other forms of Anarchy. The powers of these men are great: much need that they be just men and wise, men fearing God and hating covetousness;—all turns on that! They will be supportable, nay welcome and beneficial, if so. Insupportable enough, if not so:—as indeed what official person, or man under any form, except the form of a slave well-collared and driven by whips, is or ought to be supportable 'if *not* so'? We subjoin a list of their names, as historically worthy, known or unknown to the reader, here.[22]

Soon after this Letter, 'in the month of October 1655,' there was seen a strange sight at Bristol in the West. A Procession of Eight Persons;

[21] Order-Book of the Council of State; cited in Godwin (iv. 228).

[22] *General Desborow* has the Counties: Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall.
Colonel Kelsey: Kent and Surrey.
Colonel Goffe: Sussex, Hants, Berks.
Major-General Skippon: London.
Colonel Barkstead (Governor of the Tower): Middlesex and Westminster.
Lord Deputy Fleetwood (who never returns to Ireland): Oxford, Bucks, Herts; Cambridge, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk,—for these last four he can appoint a substitute (*Colonel Haynes*).
General Whalley: Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, Leicester.
Major Butler: Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntingdon.
Colonel Berry (Richard Baxter's friend, once a Clerk in the Ironworks): Hereford, Salop, North Wales.
General (Sea-General) *Dawkins:* Monmouth and South Wales.
Colonel Worseley: Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire.
The Lord Lambert: York, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland,—can appoint substitutes (*Colonel Robert Lilburn, Colonel Charles Howard*).

one, a man on horseback, riding single; the others, men and women, partly riding double, partly on foot, in the muddiest highway, in the wettest weather; singing, all but the single-rider, at whose bridal splash and walk two women: "Hosannah! Holy, holy! Lord God of Sabaoth!" and other things, 'in a buzzing tone,' which the impartial hearer could not make out. The single-rider is a raw-boned male figure, 'with lank hair reaching below his cheeks;' hat drawn close over his brows; 'nose rising slightly in the middle;' of abstruse 'down look,' and large dangerous jaws strictly closed; he sings not; sits there covered, and is sung-to by the others bare. Amid pouring deluges, and mud knee-deep: 'so that the rain ran in at their necks, and they vented it at their hose and breeches:' a spectacle to the West of England and Posterity! Singing as above; answering no question except in song. From Bedminster to Ratcliff Gate, along the streets, to the High Cross of Bristol: at the High Cross they are laid hold of by the Authorities;—turn out to be James Nayler and Company. James Nayler, 'from Andersloe' or Ardsley 'in Yorkshire,' heretofore a trooper under Lambert; now a Quaker and something more. Infatuated Nayler and Company; given up to Enthusiasm,—to Animal-Magnetism, to Chaos and Bedlam in one shape or other! Who will need to be coerced by the Major-Generals, I think;—to be forwarded to London, and there sifted and cross-questioned.[23] Is not the Spiritualism of England developing itself in strange forms? The Hydra, royalist and sansculottic, has many heads.

George Fox, some time before this, had made his way to the Protector himself; to represent to him the undeserved sufferings of Friends,—and what a faithful people they were, though sansculottic, or wearing suits sometimes merely of perennial leather. George's huge *Journal*, to our regret, has no dates; but his Interview with the Protector, once in these late months, is authentic, still visible to the mind. George, being seized in Leicestershire, 'carried-up to the Mews,' and otherwise tribulated by subaltern authorities, contrived to make the Protector hear some direct voice of him, appoint some hour to see him. 'It was on a morning:' George went; was admitted to the Protector's bedchamber, 'where one Harvey, who had been a little among Friends,' but had not proved entirely obedient,—the Harvey who will write us a very valuable little Pamphlet one day,[24]—was dressing him. "Peace be in this house!" George Fox 'was moved to say.' Peace, O George. 'I exhorted him,' writes George, 'to keep in the fear of God,' whereby he might 'receive Wisdom from God,' which would be a useful guidance for any Sovereign Person. In fact, I had 'much discourse' with him; explaining what

[23] Examination of them (in *harleian Miscellany*, vi. 424-39).

[24] *Passages in his Highness's Last Sickness.*

I and Friends had been led to think 'concerning Christ and His Apostles' of old time, and His Priests and Ministers of new; concerning Life and concerning Death;—concerning this unfathomable Universe in general, and the Light in it that is from Above, and the Darkness in it that is from Below: to all which the Protector 'carried himself with much moderation.' Yes, George; this Protector has a sympathy with the Perennial; and feels it across the Temporary: no hulls, leathern or other, can entirely hide it from the sense of him. 'As I spake, he several times 'said, "That is very good," and, "That is true."'—Other persons coming in, persons of quality so-called, I drew back; lingered; and then was for retiring: 'he caught me by the hand,' and with moist-beaming eyes, 'said: "Come again to my house! If thou and I were but an 'hour of the day together, we should be nearer one to the other. I wish 'no more harm to thee than I do to my own soul."'—"Hearken to God's voice!" said George in conclusion: "Whosoever hearkens to *it*, his heart is not hardened;" *his* heart remains true, open to the Wisdoms, to the Noblenesses; with him it shall be well!—'Captain Drury' wished me to stay among the Lifeguard gentlemen, and dine with them; but I declined, not being free thereunto.[25]

[25] *Fox's Journal* (Leeds, 1836), i. 265.

LETTERS CCIV.—CCVI.

JAMAICA.

We said already the grand Sea-Armament, which sailed from Portsmouth at Christmas 1654, had proved unsuccessful. It went westward; opened its Sealed Instructions at a certain latitude; found that they were instructions to attack Hispaniola, to attack the Spanish Power in the West Indies: it did attack Hispaniola, and lamentably failed; attacked the Spanish Power in the West Indies, and has hitherto realised almost nothing,—a mere waste Island of Jamaica, to all appearance little worth the keeping at such cost. It is hitherto the unsuccessfulest enterprise Oliver Cromwell ever had concern with. Desborow fitted it out at Portsmouth, while the Lord Protector was busy with his First refractory Pedant Parliament; there are faults imputed to Desborow: but the grand fault the Lord Protector imputes to himself, That he chose, or sanctioned the choice of, Generals improper to command it. Sea-General Penn, Land-General Venables, they were unfortunate, they were incompetent; fell into disagreements, into distempers of the bowels; had critical Civil Commissioners with them, too, who did not mend the matter. Venables lay 'six weeks in bed,' very ill of sad West-India maladies; for the rest, a covetous lazy dog, who cared nothing for the business, but wanted to be home at his Irish Government again. Penn is Father of Penn the Pennsylvanian Quaker; a man somewhat quick of temper, 'like to break his heart' when affairs went wrong; unfit to right them again. As we said, the two Generals came voluntarily home in the end of last August, leaving the wreck of their forces in Jamaica; and were straightway lodged in the Tower for quitting their post.

A great Armament of Thirty, nay of Sixty Ships; of Four-thousand soldiers, two regiments of whom were veterans, the rest a somewhat sad miscellany of broken Royalists, unruly Levellers, and the like, who would volunteer,—whom Venables augmented at Barbadoes, with a still more unruly set, to Nine-thousand: this great Armament the Lord Protector

has strenuously hurled, as a sudden fiery bolt, into the dark Domdaniel of Spanish Iniquity in the far West; and it has exploded there, almost without effect. The Armament saw Hispaniola, and Hispaniola with fear and wonder saw it, on the 14th of April 1655: but the Armament, a sad miscellany of distempered unruly persons, durst not land 'where Drake had landed,' and at once take the Town and Island: the Armament hovered hither and thither; and at last agreed to land some sixty miles off; marched therefrom through thick-tangled woods, under tropical heats, till it was nearly dead with mere marching; was then set upon by ambuscadoes; fought miserably ill, the unruly persons of it, or would not fight at all; fled back to its ships a mass of miserable disorganic ruin; and 'dying there at the rate of two-hundred a day,' made for Jamaica.[1]

Jamaica, a poor unpopulous Island, was quickly taken, as rich Hispaniola might have been, and the Spaniards were driven away: but to men in biliary humour it seemed hardly worth the taking or the keeping. 'Immense droves of wild cattle, cows and horses, run about Jamaica;' dusky Spaniards dwell in *hatos*, in unswept shealings; '80,000 hogs 'are killed every year for the sake of their lard, which is sold under 'the name of *hog's-butter* at Carthagena:' but what can we do with all that! The poor Armament continuing to die as if by murrain, and all things looking worse and worse to poor biliary Generals, Sea-General Penn set sail for home, whom Land-General Venables swiftly followed; leaving 'Vice-Admiral Goodson,' 'Major-General Fortescue,' or almost whosoever liked, to manage in their absence, and their ruined moribund forces to die as they could;—and are now lodged in the Tower, as they deserved to be. The Lord Protector, and virtually England with him, had hoped to see the dark empire of bloody Antichristian Spain a little shaken in the West; some reparation got for its inhuman massacrings and long-continued tyrannies,—massacrings, exterminations of us, 'at St. Kitts in 1629, at Tortuga in 1637, at Santa Cruz in 1650;' so, in the name of England, had this Lord Protector hoped; and he has now to take his disappointment.

The ulterior history of these Western Affairs, of this new Jamaica under Cromwell, lies far dislocated, drowned deep in the Slumber-Lakes of *Thurloe* and Company; in a most dark, stupefied, and altogether dismal condition. A history indeed, which, as you painfully fish it up and by degrees reawaken it to life, is in itself sufficiently dismal. Not much to be intermeddled with here. The English left in Jamaica, the English successively sent thither, prosper as ill as need be; still die, soldiers and settlers of them, at a frightful rate per day; languish, for

[1] *Journal of the English Army in the West Indies*, by an Eye-witness (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 372-390). A lucid and reasonable Narrative.

most part, astonished in their strange new sultry element; and cannot be brought to front with right manhood the deadly inextricable jungle of tropical confusions, outer and inner, in which they find themselves. Brave Governors, Fortescue, Sedgwick, Brayne, one after the other, die rapidly, of the climate and of broken heart; their life-fire all spent there, in that dark chaos, and as yet no result visible. It is painful to read what misbehaviour there is, what difficulties there are.[2]

Almost the one steady light-point in the business is the Protector's own spirit of determination. If England have now a 'West-India Interest,' and Jamaica be an Island worth something, it is to this Protector mainly that we owe it. Here too, as in former darknesses, 'Hope shines in him, like a pillar of fire, when it has gone out in all the others.' Having put his hand to this work, he will not for any discouragement turn back. Jamaica shall yet be a colony; Spain and its dark Domdaniel shall yet be smitten to the heart,—the enemies of God and His Gospel, by the soldiers and servants of God. It must, and it shall. We have failed in the West, but not wholly; in the West and in the East, by sea and by land, as occasion shall be ministered, we will try it again and again.

'On the 28th of November 1655, the Treaty with France is proclaimed 'by heralds and trumpets,' say the Old Newspapers.[3] Alliance with France, and *Declaration* against Spain,—within the tropics where there is never Peace, and without the tropics where Peace yet is, there shall now be War with Spain. Penn and Venables, cross-questioned till no light farther could be had from them, are dismissed; in Penn's stead, Montague is made Admiral.[4] We will maintain Jamaica, send reinforcement after reinforcement to it; we will try yet for the Spanish Plate Fleets; we will hurl yet bolt after bolt into the dark Domdaniel, and have no Peace with Spain. In all which, as I understand, the spirit of England, mindful of Armadas, and wedded once for all to blessed Gospel Light and Progress, and not to accursed Papal Jesuitry and Stagnancy, coöperates well with this Protector of the Commonwealth of England. Land-fighting too we shall by and by come upon; in all ways, a resolute prosecution of hostilities against Spain. Concerning the 'policy' of which, and real wisdom and unwisdom of which, no reader need consult the current Sceptical Red-tape Histories of that Period, for they are much misinformed on the matter.—

[2] Thurloe, iii. iv.,—in very many places, all in a most unedited, confused condition. Luminous Notices too in Carte's *Ormond Papers*, ii. Long's *History of Jamaica* (London, 1774), i. 221 et seq., gives in a vague but tolerably correct way some of the results of *Thurloe;* which Bryan Edwards has abridged. Godwin (iv. 192-200) is exact, so far as he goes.

[3] In *Cromwelliana*, p. 134.

[4] Jan. 1655-6 (Thurloe, iv. 338).

Here are Three Official Letters, or Draughts of Letters, concerning the business of Jamaica; which have come to us in a very obscure, unedited condition, Thomas Birch having been a little idle. Very obscure; and now likely to remain so, they and the others,—unless indeed Jamaica should produce a Poet of its own, pious towards the Hero-Founder of Jamaica, and courageous to venture into the Stygian Quagmires of *Thurloe* and the others, and vanquish them on his and its behalf!

Apparently these Official Letters are First-draughts, in the hand of Thurloe or some underling of his; dictated to him, as is like, by the Protector: they would afterwards be copied-fair, dated, and duly despatched; and only the rough originals, unhappily without date, are now left us. Birch has put them down without much criticism; the arrangement of some is palpably wrong. By the spelling and punctuation we judge them to be of Thurloe's handwriting; but the sense is clearly Oliver's, and probably, with some superficial polishings, the composition. They cannot, after much inquiry, be dated except approximately; the originals are gone with Birch, who has not even told us in whose handwriting they were, much less has tried to make any sense of them for himself, the idle ineffectual Editor! In fact, *Thurloe* in regard to these Jamaica businesses has had to go without editing; lies wide-spread, dislocated, dark; and, in this passage, read by Birch's light, is mere darkness visible. One of the Letters, we at length find, is even misaddressed,—seemingly by idle Birch, at random. Happily it is with the sense alone that we are much concerned; and that is in good part legible. Fancy Penn and Venables dismissed, after some light got out of them by cross-questioning; fancy 'Vice-Admiral Goodson, Major-'General Fortescue, Daniel Serle Governor of Barbadoes, and Major-'General Sedgwick' new from England, made Commissioners, with Instructions,[5] with full power over Jamaica,—and then read.

LETTER CCIV.

Vice-Admiral Goodson, as his title indicates, went out as second under Penn; whose place he now fills as chief. Letters of his in *Thurloe* indicate a thick blunt stout-hearted sailor character, not nearly so stupid as he looks; whose rough piety, sense, stoicism, and general manfulness grow luminous to us at last. The Protector hopes 'the Lord may have 'blessed Goodson to have lighted upon some of the Enemy's vessels, and 'burnt them;'—which is a hope fulfilled: for Goodson has already been at St. Martha on the Spanish Main, and burnt it; but got few 'ships,' nor any right load of plunder either; the people having had him in sight for six hours before landing, and run away with everything to the woods.

[5] Given in Thurloe, iv. 634.

He got 'thirty brass guns and two *bases*,' whatever these are. The rest of the plunder, being 'accurately sold at the mast of each ship' by public auction, yielded just 471*l.* sterling, which was a very poor return. At the Rio de Hacha ('Rio de hatch' as we here write it) 'the bay was so shoal' no great ships could get near; and our 'hoys' and small craft, on trying it, saw nothing feasible; wherefore we had drawn back again. Santa Martha, and plunder sold by auction to the amount above stated, was all we could get.[6]

To Vice-Admiral Goodson, at Jamaica.

SIR, Whitehall, 'October 1655.'

I have written to Major-General Fortescue divers advertisements of our purpose and resolution, the Lord willing, to prosecute this Business; and you shall not want bodies of men nor yet anything in our power for the carrying-on of the work. I have also given divers hints unto him of things which may probably be attempted, and should [7] be very diligently looked after by you both; but are left to your better judgments upon the place. Wherein I desire you would consult together how to prosecute your affairs with that brotherly kindness that upon no colour whatsoever any divisions or distractions should be amongst you, but that you may have one shoulder to the work; which will be very pleasing to the Lord; and not unnecessary, considering what an enemy you are like to have to deal withal.

We hope that you have with 'you' some of those ships which came last, near Twenty men-of-war; which I desire you to keep equipt, and make yourselves as strong as you can to beat the Spaniard, who will doubtless send a good force into the Indies. I hope, by this time the Lord may have blessed you to have light upon some of their vessels,—whether by burning them in their harbours or otherwise. And it will be worthy of you to improve your strength, what you can, both to weaken them by parcels, and to engage them as you have opportunity,—which, at such a distance I may probably guess, would be best 'managed' by not suffering, if you can help it, the new Fleet, which comes from Spain, to go unfought, before they join with the ships that are to the Leeward of you.

We are sending to you, with all possible speed, Seven more stout men-of-war, some of them forty guns, and the rest not under thirty, for your assistance. This Ship goes before, with instructions, to encourage you to go on in the work; and also with instructions to

[6] Goodson's Letter, in *Thurloe*, iv. 159 et seqq. [7] 'would' in orig.

Mevis, and the other Windward Islands, to bring so many of the Plantations as are free to come, 'that they may settle with you at Jamaica.' And I desire you, with your lesser merchant-ships or such others as you can spare, to give all possible assistance for their removal and transplantation, from time to time, as also all due encouragement to remove them.

You will see by the Enclosed what I have writ to Major-General Fortescue. And I hope your counsels will enter into that which may be for the glory of God and good of this Nation. It is not to be denied but the Lord hath greatly humbled us in that sad loss sustained at Hispaniola; and we doubt we have provoked the Lord; and it is good for us to know and to be abased for the same. But yet certainly His name is concerned in the work; and therefore though we should, and I hope do, lay our mouths in the dust, yet He would not have us despond, but I trust give us leave to make mention of His name and of His righteousness, when we cannot make mention of our own. You are left there; and I pray you set-up your banners in the name of Christ; for undoubtedly it is His Cause. And let the reproach and shame that hath been for our sins, and through (also we may say) the misguidance of some, work-up your hearts to confidence in the Lord, and for the redemption of His honour from the hands of men who attribute their success to their Idols, the work of their own hands. And though He hath torn us, yet He will heal us; though He hath smitten us, yet He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us, in the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight.[8] The Lord Himself hath a controversy with your Enemies; even with that Roman Babylon, of which the Spaniard is the great underpropper. In that respect we fight the Lord's battles;—and in this the Scriptures are most plain. The Lord therefore strengthen you with faith, and cleanse you from all evil: and doubt not but He is able, and I trust as willing, to give you as signal success as He gave your enemies against you. Only the Covenant-fear of the Lord be upon you.[9]

If we send you not by this, I trust we shall by the next, our Declaration setting forth the justness of this War. I remain,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.*

[8] Hosea, vi. 1, 2.

[9] No other fear; nor is there need of any other hope or strength!

* Thurloe, iv. 130.

The *Declaration* here alluded to, of War with Spain, came out on Tuesday, 23d October 1655;[10] which with sufficient approximation dates this Letter for us. By obscure intimations, allusions to events, and even by recurrence of phrases, the following Letter seems to have the same or a closely subsequent date; but no sense could be made of it till the Address, 'Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica' (which, being nonsense, we have to impute to Birch), was erased,—was altered, by dim lights[11] and guessings still a little uncertain, as below.

LETTER CCV.

'To Daniel Serle, Esquire, Governor of Barbadoes.'

SIR, 'Whitehall, October 1655.'

These are first to let you know that myself and the Government reckon ourselves beholden[12] to you for the ready expressions of your love in giving assistance to our late Design.[13] Which indeed, though it hath miscarried in what we hoped for, through the disposing hand of God, for reasons best known to Himself, and as we may justly conceive for our sins,—yet is not this Cause the less His, but will be owned by Him, as I verily believe: and therefore we dare not relinquish it;[14] but shall, the Lord assisting, prosecute it with what strength we can, hoping for 'a' blessing for His name's sake.

You will receive some Instructions,[15] with encouragements to remove your people thither. Whereto I refer you: only let me tell you, that if you shall think to desire some other things which are not mentioned in those Instructions, 'you may' rest upon my word that we shall be most ready to supply what they may be defective in, or you may reasonably demand when once you are upon the place,—where certainly you may be better able to judge what may tend most to your accommodation than at a distance. Surely the sooner you remove thither,[16] you will have the more

[10] Thurloe, iv. 117; Godwin, iv. 217; Antea, p. 85.

[11] Thurloe, iv. 633, &c. &c.

[12] 'beholding' in orig.; as the old phrase usually is.

[13] Hispaniola; to which Serle, at Barbadoes, had given due furtherance, as the Expedition passed.

[14] No!

[15] Thurloe, iv. 633-7; worth reading, though in great want of editing.

[16] Will mean, if our Addressing of this Letter is correct, that it had at one

time to strengthen yourself, in such place and upon such part as you shall like of. And for your own part, I have named you one of the Commissioners there for managing of the whole affair; whereby you will have your vote and interest in that Government.

Having said this, I think fit to let you know that we have Twenty men-of-war already there, and are sending Eight more, many whereof have forty guns and upwards, and the rest above thirty.[17] We hope the Plantation is not wanting in anything; having at the least Seven-thousand fighting-men upon the place: and we are providing to supply them constantly with fresh men: and we trust they are furnished with a twelvemonth's victuals;—and I think, if we have it in England, they shall not want.

We have also sent to the Colonies of New England like offers with yours,[18] To remove thither; our resolution being to people and plant that Island. And indeed we have very good reason to expect considerable numbers from thence, forasmuch as the last winter was very destructive, and the summer hath proved so very sickly.

I pray God direct you; and rest,

Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.'*

Undoubtedly to 'Daniel Serle,' or else to 'Major-General Sedgwick,' the other of the Four new Commissioners, this Letter must have been addressed. With either of which Addresses it remains historically somewhat obscure; but is legible enough for our purposes with it here. The next seems to be of slightly later date.

LETTER CCVI.

To Major-General Fortescue, at Jamaica.

SIR, 'Whitehall, November 1655.'

You will herewith receive Instructions for the better carrying-on of your business; which is not of small account here,

---

time been intended and decided to send Serle of Barbadoes, an experienced man, the ablest and principal English Governor in the West Indies, to take charge of Jamaica himself. Which however, in the quick succession of new lights and occurrences, never came to pass.

[17] Same phrase in the preceding Letter.

[18] Encouragements to them, as to 'your' Colony, to emigrate thither.

* Thurloe, iv. 130.

though our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath very sorely chastened us. I do commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every 'situation'[19] where you are, and 'your' taking care of a "company of poor sheep left by their shepherd:"[20] and be assured that, as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me as opportunity shall serve.

I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last,[21] whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten here. I hope also the ships sent for New England are, before this time, with you:[22]—and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in prosecuting that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, That you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford, or you want.

And therefore study first your security by fortifying: and although you have not moneys, for the present, to do it in such quantities as were to be wished; yet, your case being as that of a marching army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at pains to secure the common quarter,—we hope no man amongst you will be so wanting to himself, considering food is provided for you, as not to be willing to help to the uttermost therein. And therefore I require you and all with you, for the safety of the whole, that this be made your most principal intention. The doing of this will require that you be very careful not to scatter, till you have begun a security in some one place.—Next I desire you that you would consider how to form such a Body of good Horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at his next coming into the

[19] Word torn.

[20] Fortescue's own expression: in a Letter of 21st July 1655 (Thurloe, iii. 675).

[21] Vaughan, i. 303; Thurloe, iv. 4.

[22] Thurloe, iv. 157; one, the first of them, did arrive, Nov. 1st: 'sent from Jamaica to New England for provisions.'

Indies with his Galeons, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landing; who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, 'you will' be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you.

We have sent Commissioners and Instructions into New England, to try what people may be drawn thence.[23] We have done the like to the Windward English Islands; and both in England and Scotland and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport.

We think, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas: and therefore we could heartily wish that the Island of Providence were in our hands again; believing that it lies so advantageously in reference to the Main, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Carthagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprisal, but 'might' even block-up Carthagena.[24] It is discoursed here that, if the Spaniard do attempt upon you, it is most likely it will be upon the East end of the Island, towards Cuba; as also 'that' Cuba, in its chief Town, is a place[25] easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper-mine. It would be good, for the first, as you have opportunity, to inform yourself; and if there be need, to make a good work upon the East end of your Island, to prevent them. And for the other, and all things of that kind, we must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to do therein as you shall see cause.

To conclude: As we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo, upon the account of our own sins as well as others', so, truly, upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreme avarice, pride and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the Army, we can not only bewail the same, but desire that all with you may do so; and that a very special regard may be had so to govern, for time to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced, and severely punished; and that such

[23] Long Correspondences about it, and details, from assiduous Mr. Gookin, chief of those Commissioners, in *Thurloe*, iv.

[24] 'the same' in orig.

[25] The first 'Cuba' here is the old capital of the Eastern Department, now called *Santiago de Cuba*, where there are still copper-mines.

a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godliness may receive due encouragement.

'I rest,

'Your loving friend,

'OLIVER P.' *

The brave Fortescue never received this Letter; he already lay in his grave when it was written; had died in October last,[26] a speedy victim of the bad climate and desperate situation. Brave Sedgwick, his Partner and Successor, soon died also:[27] a very brave, zealous and pious man, whose Letters in *Thurloe* are of all others the best worth reading on this subject. Other brave men followed, and soon died; spending heroically their remnant of life-fire there,—as heroes do, 'making paths through the impassable.' But we must leave the heroisms of Oliver Protector and his Puritans, in this Jamaica Business, to the reader's fancy henceforth,—till perhaps some Jamaica *Poet* rise to resuscitate and extricate them. Reinforcement went on the back of reinforcement, during this Protector's lifetime: 'a Thousand Irish Girls' went; not to speak of the rogue-and-vagabond species from Scotland,—'we can help you' at any time 'to two or three hundred of these.'[28] And so at length a West-India Interest did take root; and bears spices and poisons, and other produce, to this day.

* Thurloe, iv. 633.

[26] Ibid. iv. 153.

[27] 24th June 1656 (Long's *History of Jamaica*, i. 257).

[28] Long, i. 244; Thurloe, iv. 692-5:—new Admonitions and Instructions from the Protector, of Thurloe's writing, 17th June 1656 (Thurloe, v. 129-131); &c.

LETTERS CCVII.—CCXIV.

TAKE the following Letters in mass; and make some dim History of Eleven Months from them, as best may be.

LETTER CCVII.

HENRY CROMWELL has no Major-Generals in Ireland, but has his anarchies there also to deal with. Let him listen to this good advice on the subject.

For my Son Henry Cromwell, at Dublin, Ireland.

SON, 'Whitehall,' 21st November 1655.

I have seen your Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe; and do find thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you, towards yourself and the public affairs.

I do believe there may be some particular persons who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to show their discontent as they have opportunity: but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may work them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, if they are found in other ways towards you. Which I earnestly desire you to study and endeavour, all that lies in you. Whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.

For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it; and shall not be wanting to send you some farther addition to the Council, so soon as men can be found out who are fit for the trust. I am also thinking of sending over to you a fit person who may

command the North of Ireland; which I believe stands in great need of one; and 'I' am of your opinion that Trevor and Colonel Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new rebellion. And therefore I would have you move the Council that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own countries the better.

I commend you to the Lord; and rest,

Your affectionate father,

OLIVER P.*

'The Letter writ unto Mr. Secretary Thurloe,' which is responded to in this wise and magnanimous manner, does not appear in *Thurloe* or elsewhere. November 14th, a week before the date of this, Henry writing to Thurloe excuses his present brevity, his last Letter having been so very copious: that copious Letter, now lost, is probably the one in question here.

'*November 22d*,' the day after this Letter, 'came several accounts from 'the Major-Generals out of divers Counties. Out of Norfolk it was 'certified that Cleveland the Poet and one Sherland a wild Parson 'were apprehended' at Norwich 'by Colonel Haynes,'[1] the Lord Fleetwood's Substitute in those regions. This is John Cleveland the famed Cantab Scholar, Royalist Judge-Advocate, and thrice-illustrious Satirist and son of the Muses; who 'had gone through eleven editions' in those times, far transcending all Miltons and all mortals,—and does not now need any twelfth edition, that we hear of. Still recognisable for a man of lively parts, and brilliant petulant character; directed, alas, almost wholly to the *worship of clothes*,—which is by nature a transient one! His good fortune quitted him, I think, nine years ago, when David Lesley took him prisoner in Newark. A stinging satire against the Scots had led Cleveland to expect at least martyrdom on this occasion; but Lesley merely said, "Let the poor knave go and sell his ballads;"[2] and dismissed him,—towards thin diet, and a darkness which has been deepening ever since. Very low now at Norwich, where he is picked-up by Colonel Haynes: 'Thirty pounds a year;' 'lives with a gentleman to whom he is giving some instruction;'—unfortunate son of the Muses. He indites a highflown magnanimous epistle to Cromwell, on this new misfortune; who likewise magnanimously dismisses him,[3] to 'sell his ballads' at what little they will bring.

* Thurloe, i. 726.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154); Thurloe, iv. 185.

[2] *Biog. Britan.* (2d edit.), iii. 531:—very ignorantly told there.

[3] Life of Cleveland, prefixed to his *Poems*.

Wednesday December 12th, 1655. This day, 'in a withdrawing-room at Whitehall,' presided over by his Highness, who is much interested in the matter, was held 'a Conference concerning the Jews;'[4]—of which the modern reader too may have heard something. Conference, one of Four Conferences, publicly held, which filled all England with rumour in those old December days; but must now contract themselves into a point for us. Highest official Persons, with Lord Chief Barons, Lord Chief Justices, and chosen Clergy have met here to advise, by reason, Law-learning, Scripture-prophecy, and every source of light for the human mind, concerning the proposal of admitting Jews, with certain privileges as of alien-citizens, to reside in England. They were banished near Four-hundred years ago: shall they now be allowed to reside and trade again? The Proposer is 'Manasseh Ben Israel,' a learned Portuguese Jew of Amsterdam; who, being stirred-up of late years by the great things doing in England, has petitioned one and the other, Long Parliament and Little Parliament, for this object; but could never, till his Highness came into power, get the matter brought to a hearing. And so they debate and solemnly consider; and his Highness spake;—and says one witness, "I never heard a man speak so well."[5] His Highness was eager for the scheme, if so might be. But the Scripture-prophecies, Law-learnings, and lights of the human mind seemed to point another way; zealous Manasseh went home again; the Jews could not settle here except by private sufferance of his Highness;—and the matter contracts itself into a point for us.[6]

This same Jew-Wednesday, Wednesday the 12th, as a laborious unimportant computation shows, was the 'evening' when Republican Ludlow had the first interview with his Highness and certain of his Council 'in the Protector's bed-chamber.'[7] Solid Ludlow has been in Ireland; dreadfully sulky ever since this Protectorate began. Solid Ludlow never would acknowledge any Single Person, never he; not though the Single Person "were his own father." He has nevertheless, by certain written 'engagements,' contrived to get across from Ireland, with much trouble by the road; but will not now give any promise satisfactory to his Highness. "He will be peaceable; yes, so long as "he sees no chance otherwise: but if he see a chance—!—Should like, "notwithstanding, to breathe a little air in his own country; that is all he

[4] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 154).

[5] Sir Paul Rycaut (in Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 77;—as cited by Godwin, iv. 299).

[6] Godwin, iv. 243-9.—To 'Manasseth Ben Israel, a Pension of 100*l.* per annum, payable quarterly, and commencing 20th February 1656' (1657): Privy-Seals of Oliver; in Fifth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 263.

[7] Ludlow, ii. 551 et seqq.

"is wanting for the present!" In fact, our solid friend is firm as brass, or oak-timber; altogether obstinate indeed, not to say dogged and mulish. The Protector, who has a respect for the solid man, and whose course is conciliation in such cases, permits him to reside in Essex; keeping his eye upon him.

We might speak also of the famed 'Committee of Trade,' which has now begun its sessions 'in the Old House of Lords.' An Assemblage of Dignitaries, Chief Merchants, Political Economists, convened by summons of his Highness;[8] consulting zealously how the Trade of this country may be improved. A great concernment of the Commonwealth, 'which his Highness is eagerly set upon.' They consulted of 'Swedish Copperas,' and suchlike; doing faithfully what they could.

Of these things we might speak; but prefer to end the year by this small interesting fraction of Domestic Gossip, coming to us in a small flute-voice across the loud Disturbances, which are fallen silent now, more silent now than even it! Sorry only that nobody can inform us who this blameworthy 'person' in the Lord Henry Cromwell's house is, or what her misdoings are: but the reader, skilled in perennial human nature, can sufficiently supply these, and listen to the ancient small flute-voice with intelligence:

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.

"'Hampton-Court,' 7th December 1655.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I cannot be any longer without begging an excuse "for my so long silence. You cannot but hear of my Sister's illness; "which indeed has been the only cause of it. You might justly take it "ill otherwise, and think there were want of that affection I owe unto "you.

"Indeed, dear Brother, it was a great deal of trouble to me to think I "should give you any occasion to think amiss of me: for I can truly say "it, you are very dear to me; and it is a great trouble to me to think of "the distance we are from one another; and would be more, if I did not "think you are doing the Lord's service;—and truly that ought to satisfy "us; for while we are here, we cannot expect but that we must be "separated. Dear Brother, the Lord direct you in His ways, and keep "your heart close unto Himself. And I am sure, therein you will have "true comfort; and that will last when all this world shall pass away.

"I cannot but give you some item of One that is with you, who, 'it' "is so much feared by your friends that love you, is some dishonour to "you and my dear Sister, if you have not a great care. For it is reported "here, that she rules much in your Family; and truly it is feared that

[8] Whitlocke, p. 618 (2d Nov. 1655).

"she is a discountenancer of the Godly People. Therefore, dear Brother, "take it not ill, that I give you an item of her: for, truly, if I did not "love both you and your honour, I would not give you notice of her. "Therefore I hope you will not take it ill, that I have dealt thus plainly "with you. I suppose you know who it is I mean, therefore I desire "to be excused for not naming her. I desire not to be seen in it; and "therefore desire you that you would not take the least notice of my "writing to you about it: because I was desired not to speak of it;— "nor should I, but that I know you will not take it amiss from your "poor Sister who loves you.

"Dear Brother, I take leave to rest—

"Your sister and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL.

"Her Highness[9] desires to have her love to you and my Sister; and "my Sister Franke her respects to you both."[10]

'My Sister Franke' and the Lady Mary, these are my 'two little wenches,' grown now to be women; with dress-caps, fresh blossoming hearts, musical glib tongues,—not uninteresting to men! Anthony Ashley Cooper, I am told, is looking towards this Lady Mary; now turned of Eighteen,[11] and a desirable match for any youth of ambition,—but not attainable, I doubt, by Ashley.

LETTER CCVIII.

HE that builds by the wayside has many masters! Henry Cromwell, we perceive by all symptoms,[12] has no holiday task of it; needs energy, vigilance, intelligence,—needs almost unlimited patience first of all. With a hot proud temper of his own to strive against, too; and is not nine-and-twenty yet: a young man whose carriage hitherto merits high praise. Anabaptist Colonels 'preach' against him; Fleetwood, at head-quarters, has perhaps a tendency to favour Anabaptist Colonels, and send them over hither to us? Colonel Hewson, here in Ireland, he, with a leaning that way, has had correspondences, has even had an 'Answer' from the Lord Protector (now lost), whereupon have risen petitionings, colloquies, caballings,—much loud unreason to absorb into oneself, and convert at least into silence! 'Be not troubled with that Business; we understand the men:' no;—and on the whole, read, and be encouraged, and go on your way.

[9] 'our Mother.' [10] Thurloe, iv. 293. [11] Vol. i. p. 62.

[12] See his Letters to Thurloe: *Thurloe*, iv. 254-608 (Letters from Nov. 1655 to April 1656).

For my Son Harry Cromwell.

HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 21st April 1656.

I have received your Letters, and have also seen some from you to others; and am sufficiently satisfied of your burden, and that if the Lord be not with you, to enable you to bear it, you are in a very sad condition.

I am glad to hear what I have heard of your carriage: study still to be innocent; and to answer every occasion, roll yourself upon God,—which to do needs much grace. Cry to the Lord to give you a plain single heart. Take heed of being over-jealous, lest your apprehensions of others cause you to offend. Know that uprightness will preserve you; in this be confident against men.

I think the Anabaptists are to blame in not being pleased with you. That's their fault! It will not reach *you*, whilst you with singleness of heart make the glory of the Lord your aim. Take heed of professing religion without the power: that will teach you to love all who are after the similitude of Christ. Take care of making it a business to be too hard for the men who contest with you. Being over-concerned may train you into a snare.—I have to do with those poor men; and am not without my exercise. I know they are weak; because they are so peremptory in judging others. I quarrel not with them but in their seeking to supplant others; which is done by some, first by branding them with anti-christianism, and then taking away their maintenance.

Be not troubled with the late Business: we understand the men. Do not fear the sending of any over to you but such as will be considering men, loving all godly interests, and men 'that' will be friends to justice.—Lastly, take heed of studying to lay for yourself the foundation of a great estate. It will be a snare to you: they will watch you; bad men will be confirmed in covetousness. The thing is an evil which God abhors. I pray you think of me in this.

If the Lord did not sustain me, I were undone: but I live, and I shall live, to the good pleasure of His grace; I find mercy at need. The God of all grace keep you. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

My love to my dear Daughter (whom I frequently pray for) and to all friends.*

* Autograph in the possession of Sir W. Betham (Ulster King of Arms), Dublin.

Such a Letter, like a staff dipped in honeycomb and brought to one's lips, is enough to enlighten the eyes of a wearied Sub-Deputy; and cheer him, a little, on his way! To prove that you can conquer every opponent, to found a great estate: not these, or the like of these, be your aims, Son Harry. 'I pray you think of me in this.' And, on the whole, heed not the foolish noises, the fatuous lights; heed the eternal Loadstars and celestial Silences,—and vigilantly march: so shall you too perhaps 'find mercy at need.'

LETTER CCIX.

New Sea-Armaments, and ever new, are fitted out against the Spaniards and their Papist Domdaniel. Penn being dismissed, Councillor Colonel Montague, already in the Admiralty, was made Sea-General last January in his stead; and now Blake and he have their flags flying somewhere off Cadiz Bay, it would appear.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

My loving Friends, Whitehall, 28th April 1656.

You have, as I verily believe and am persuaded, a plentiful stock of prayers going 'on' for you daily, sent up by the soberest and most approved Ministers and Christians in this Nation; and, notwithstanding some discouragements, very much wrestling of faith for you: which is to us, and I trust will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithstanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourselves and all our affairs to the disposition of our All-wise Father; who, not only out of prerogative, but because of His wisdom, goodness and truth, ought to be resigned-unto by His creatures, and most especially by those who are children of His begetting through the Spirit. We have been lately taught[13] that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the Evil, as we call it, than attain the Good: And therefore Solomon's counsel, of doing what we have to do with all our might, 'and' getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentation with whatsoever shall be dispensed by Him to whom alone the issues of all things do belong, is worthy to be received by us.[14]

[13] In the affair of Hispaniola, &c.

[14] Yes, I should say so;—as indeed the whole Universe, since it first had any glimmerings of intelligence in it, has said!

Wherefore we have thought fit to send this honest man, Captain Lloyd, who is known to us to be a person of integrity, to convey to you some thoughts,—wherein we do only offer to you such things as do arise to us, partly upon intelligence, and partly upon such a measure as we at such a distance take of that great affair wherein you are engaged; desiring to give no rule to you; but building, under God, much more upon your judgments on the place than 'upon' our own; forasmuch as our intelligences, coming much upon the examination of Merchants' ships and such ways, may not be true oftentimes in matter of fact. And therefore we do offer what we have to say rather as queries than 'as' resolutions.

We are informed that not many of the Plate Fleet are come home; viz. two Galeons and two Pataches;[15] and we hear they are not so rich as they gave out. We are informed also that the Spaniards' Fleet in Cadiz is in no preparation to come out; and some think they will not come forth, but delay you upon the coast, until your victuals are spent, and you forced to come home. We apprehend that, when General Blake was there last year, they could not have told how to have manned-out a Fleet, if the Merchants there and gentlemen interested had not (principally for their own interest in the return of the 'Plate' Fleet) done it.

We are informed that they sent what men they could well spare, by those Six or Seven ships which they sent to the West Indies in March last. We know also that it hath ever been accounted that the Spaniards' great want is men,—as well as money at this time. What numbers are in and about Cadiz you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this Fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntal and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the Island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge,[16] the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, —which if possessed and made tenable by us,[17] would it not be

[15] *Galeone*, in the Spanish Dictionary, is defined as an 'Armed ship of 'burden used for trade in time of war;' *Patache*, as 'a Tender, or smaller ship to wait upon the *Galeone*.'

[16] Means 'noways to be separated from the Mainland, by ruining its Bridge:' Cadiz were thus in reality *isolated*.

[17] Hear, hear!

both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge?

You may discourse freely with the Bearer concerning anything contained in this Letter, to whom the whole was communicated, that so he might be able to bring back to us a more particular account of things. The Lord guide you to do that which may be pleasing in His sight.

I remain,
Your very loving friend,
OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCX.

CADIZ could not be attempted. Here, eight days later, is another message to the same parties, concerning another business. 'The Portugal,' it appears, has been behaving in a very paltry fashion; and now 'Mr. Meadows,' one of Thurloe's Under-Secretaries, is gone out to him; whose remonstrances, the Fleet lending them its emphasis, will probably be effectual!

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 6th May 1656.

You will perceive, by the Instructions[18] herewith sent you, what is expected by the Council and myself at your hands. And although we are satisfied that you will believe we have sufficient grounds to give you these Directions, yet we have thought fit, for the farther strengthening you unto this Action, to give you a short knowledge of the true state of the Difference between us and the King of Portugal.

You very well know that it is very near two years since we and the Ambassador of Portugal did agree a Treaty; they having wronged us and our Merchants, and taken part with the late King against us. When the Articles were fully agreed by the Ambassador, who had full power and authority to conclude with us, we on our part ratified and confirmed the same, and sent it to the

* Thurloe, iv. 744.

[18] Thurloe, iv. 769: brief 'instructions,' To seize the Portugal's ships, fleets, almost the Portugal's self, if he will not do justice.

King of Portugal to be ratified and executed by him also. He, delaying to do it according to the first Agreement, in which there were some preliminaries to be performed by him before we could enter upon the whole body of a Treaty,—not only refused to give us satisfaction therein, but instead thereof sent us a pretended Ratification of a Treaty, so different from what was agreed by his Ambassador that it was quite another thing. In 'regard to' some essential Articles, it was proposed that if we would condescend to some amendments, the King of Portugal would 'then' agree to confirm the whole.

Whereupon we sent Mr. Maynard to have the Treaty consummated: but finding by the answer he gave us,[19] that there was little reality, and nothing but delays intended, we could not satisfy ourselves without sending another Person, fully instructed, and authorised by us to take away all scruples by yielding to their own amendments; thereby to discern whether they were sincere[20] or not. But, contrary to all expectation, we find, by the account the said Person hath given us, that we are put upon it to recede from all those things that were provisional, either for the good of the State or of our Merchants, or else we must have no Peace with them.[21]

In one of the Articles agreed with the Ambassador, it was expressed, That the Merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience, in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships; enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books; taking care that they did not exceed this liberty. Now, upon the sending of Mr. Meadows,—unless we will agree to submit this Article to the determination of the Pope, we cannot have it: whereby he would bring us to an owning of the Pope; which, we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto.[22] And upon the same issue is that Article put whereby it is provided and agreed by his Ambassador, That any ships coming to that harbour, any of their company that shall run away from the said ships shall be brought back again by the Magistrate; and the Commanders of the said ships 'shall' not 'be' required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence 'that' they are turned Catholics,—which may be a colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholics to seduce our men. This we thought necessary to be provided against. Yet

[19] 'by his return' in orig.
[20] 'real' in orig.
[21] Let them have a care!
[22] No!

to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the Pope, although it was agreed by their Ambassador too.

Upon the whole matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest. And truly we cannot believe that Article that was for our good, was 'ever' really intended by them. And we may now plainly see what the effect is like to be of any Treaty had or made with people or states guided by such principles, who, when they have agreed, have such an evasion as these people have manifestly held forth in their dealing with us. Wherefore we pray you to be very exact in your prosecution of your Instructions; which truly I hope do not arise from the hope of gain, but from a sense of duty. For, seeing we cannot secure our People in their lives, liberties and estates by a Pretence of a Treaty; nor yet answer the just demands this Nation hath for wrongs done them; but must in some sort be guilty of bringing our People as it were into a net, by such specious shows which have nothing but falseness and rottenness in them;—we are necessitated, having amongst ourselves found out no possible expedient, though we have industriously sought it, to salve these things; we, out of necessity 'I say,' and not out of choice, have concluded to go in this way.

You will receive herewith the Copy of an Instruction given and sent to Mr. Meadows, wherein is a time limited for the King's answer: and we desire that this may not be made use of by the King to delay or deceive us: nor that you, upon the first sight hereof, delay to take the best course you can to effect your Instructions,—or that the Portugal should get his Fleet home before you get between him and home, and so the birds be flown.

We know not what your affairs are at the present; but are confident that nothing will be wanting on your part for the effectual accomplishment of this Service. But knowing that all ways, and works, and ourselves, are ever at the perfect disposition of the Lord and His providence, and that our times are in His hands,—we therefore recommend you to the grace and guidance of our good God, who, we hope, hath thoughts of mercy towards us: and that He would guide and bless you is the prayer of,

Your very loving friend,

'Oliver P.'*

* Thurloe, iv. 768.

In Thurloe's handwriting; but very evidently Oliver's composition every sentence of it. There will clearly be no living for the Portugal, unless he decide to throw away his jockeyings and jesuitries, and do what is fair and square!

LETTER CCXI.

A SMALL vestige, it is presumable, of this Protector's solicitude for the encouragement of Learning and Learned Men. Which is a feature of his character very conceivable to us, and well demonstrated otherwise by testimony of facts and persons. Such we shall presume the purport of this small Civic Message to be:

For Our worthy Friends the Committee of the City of London for Gresham College: These.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 9th May 1656.

We understanding that you have appointed an election this afternoon of a Geometry Professor in Gresham College,—We desire you to suspend the same for some time, till We shall have an opportunity to speak with some of you in order to that business. I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

Historical Neal says zealously, 'If there was a man in England who 'excelled in any faculty or science, the Protector would find him out, and 'reward him according to his merit.' The renowned Dr. Cudworth in Cambridge, I have likewise expressly read, had commission to mark among the ingenuous youth of that University such as he deemed apt for Public Employment, and to make the Protector aware of them. Which high and indeed sacred function we find the Doctor, as occasion offers, intent to discharge.[23] The choice this Protector made of men,—'in nothing was his good understanding better discovered;' 'which gave a general satisfaction to the Public,' say the Histories.[24] As we can very well believe! He who is himself a true man, has a chance to know the truth of men when he sees them; he who is not, has none: and as for the poor Public and its satisfactions,—alas, is not the kind of 'man' you set upon it the liveliest symbol of its, and your, veracity and victory

* Original, with Oliver's Signature, now (1846) in the Guildhall Library, London.

[23] Thurloe, iii. 614; v. 522; &c.

[24] Burnet, in Neal, ii. 514; ib. ii. 461, 494.

and blessedness, or unveracity and misery and cursedness; the general summation, and practical outcome, of all else whatsoever in the Public, and in you?

LETTER CCXII.

ANOTHER small Note still extant; relating to very small, altogether domestic matters.

'*For my loving Son Richard Cromwell, Esquire, at Hursley: These.*'

SON, 'Whitehall,' 29th May 1656.

You know there hath often been a desire to sell Newhall, because in these four years last past it hath yielded very little or no profit at all, nor did I ever hear you ever liked it for a Seat.

It seems there may be a chapman had, who will give 18,000*l.* It shall either be laid out where you shall desire; at Mr. Wallop's, or elsewhere, and the money put into feoffees' hands in trust to be so disposed: or I shall settle Burleigh; which yields near 1,300*l.*[25] *per annum*, besides the woods. Waterhouse will give you farther information. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER P.

My love to your Father and Mother,[26] and your dear Wife.*

Newhall is the House and Estate in Essex which had once belonged to the great Duke of Buckingham. Burleigh I guess to be Burleigh on the Hill, near Oakham, another House of the great Duke's, which Oliver in the beginning of his military services had known well: he took it by assault in 1643. Of Oliver's Lands, or even of his Public Lands granted by the Parliament, much more of the successive phases his Estate assumed by new purchase and exchange, there is, as we once observed already, no exact knowledge now anywhere to be had. Obscure incidental notices flit through the Commons Journals and other Records; but the sum of the matter alike with the details of it are sunk in antique Law-Parchments, in obliterated Committee-Papers, far beyond human sounding. Of the Lands he *died* possessed of, there is a List extant, more or less

[25] Written above is '1,260*l.*' [26] Mr. and Mrs. Mayor of Hursley.

* Original in the possession of Henry William Field, Esq., of the Royal Mint.

accurate; which is worth looking at here. On quitting the Protectorship in 1659, Richard Cromwell, with the hope of having his debts paid and some fixed revenue allowed him, gave-in a Schedule of his Liabilities and of his Properties, the latter all in Land; which Schedule poor Noble has found *somewhere;*[27] and copied, probably with blunders. Subjoined is his List of the Properties, some of them misspelt, most likely; the exact localities of which, no indication being given or sought by Noble; may be a problem for persons learned in such matters.[28] To us, only Burleigh and Newhall are of importance here.

Newhall, we can observe, was not sold on the occasion of this Letter, nor at all sold; for it still stands in the List of 1659; and with some

[27] *Not* where he says he did, 'in *Commons Journals*, 14th May 1659 (Noble, i. 333-4).

[28] Real Estate in 1659.

Dalby . . / *Broughton* / Gower . . } settled on my Brother Henry Cromwell upon marriage: worth a-year	£989	9	1
	533	8	8
	479	0	0
Newhall with woods, settled for security of 15,000*l.* for a Portion for my Sister Frances	1200	0	0
Chepstall	549	7	3
Magore	448	0	0
Tydenham	3121	9	6
Woolaston	664	16	6
Chaulton with woods	500	0	0
Burleigh	1236	12	8
Okham	326	14	11
Egleton	79	11	6

These are all the Lands at this date in the possession of the Oliver Family. The five names printed here in italics are still recognisable: Villiers (Duke of Buckingham) Properties all of these; the first two in Leicestershire, the last three contiguous to one another in Rutlandshire: of the others I at present (A.D. 1845) know nothing. As to poor Richard's finance-budget, encumbered 'with 2,000*l.* yearly to my Mother,' 'with 3,000*l.* of debt contracted in my Father's lifetime,' and plentifully otherwise,—it shall not concern us farther.

(*Note of* 1857.) The other Properties have now also been discovered: Lands, these, of the confiscated Marquis of Worcester; all of them in the South-Wales or Ragland quarter. 'Gower' is in Glamorgan, not far from Swansea; 'Chepstall' is *Chepstow;* 'Tydenham, *Tidenham*, in the same neighbourhood; 'Woolaston' is in Gloucestershire, four miles from Chepstow; 'Chaulton,' one of the *Charltons* in the same county; 'Magore,' *Magor* (St. Mary's) in Monmouthshire. For *Gower*, *Tidenham*, *Magor*, and their connexion with Cromwell, there is still direct proof; for the others, which are all Ragland manors too, there is thus presumption to the verge of proof. So that all these Properties, in Richard's Schedule, are either Buckingham or else Worcester ones,—grants by the Nation;—and of 'my ould land' (now settled otherwise, or indeed not concerned in this question) there is no mention here. (Newspaper called *Notes and Queries*, Nos. 21-28; London, 23d March-11th May 1850.)

indication, too, as to what the cause of now trying to sell it may have been. 'For a Portion to my Sister Frances,' namely. Noble's citations from Morant's *History of Essex;* his and Morant's blunderings and somnambulancies, in regard to this matter of Newhall, seem almost to approach the sublime.[29]

Leaving these, let us attend a little to the 'Portion for my Sister Frances;' concerning which and whom a few lines of musical domestic gossip, interesting to the mind, are once more audible, from the same flute-voice above listened to, 'Mr. Rich,' we should premise, is the Lord Rich's Son, the Earl of Warwick's Grandson; heir-apparent, though he did not live to be heir:—pious old Earl of Warwick, whom we have seen heretofore as Admiral in the Long-Parliament time; the poor Earl of Holland's Brother. Here are affairs of the heart, romances of reality, such as have to go on in all times, under all dialects and fashions of dress-caps, Puritan-Protectoral and other.

The Lady Mary Cromwell to Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Forces in Ireland.

"'Hampton Court,' 23d June 1656.

"DEAR BROTHER,—Your kind Letters do so much engage my heart "towards you, that I can never tell how to express in writing the true "affection and value I have for you,—who, truly I think, none that "knows you but you may justly claim it from.[30]

"I must confess myself in a great fault in omitting to write to you "and your dear Wife so long a time. But I suppose you cannot be "ignorant of the reason, which truly has been the only cause; which is "this business of my Sister Frances and Mr. Rich. Truly I can truly "say it, for these three months I think our Family, and myself in par- "ticular, have been in the greatest confusion and trouble as ever poor "Family can be in. The Lord tell us His 'mind'[31] in it; and settle us, "and make us what He would have us to be! I suppose you heard of "the breaking-off of the business; and, according to your desire in your "last Letter, as well as I can, I shall give you a full account of it. "Which is this:

"After a quarter of a year's admittance, my Father and my Lord "Warwick began to treat about the Estate; and it seems my Lord did "not offer that which my Father expected. I need not name particulars: "for I suppose you have had them from better hands: but if I may say "the truth, I think it was not so much estate, as from private reasons "which my Father discovered to none but to my Sister Frances and his "own Family;—which was a dislike to the young person. Which he

[29] Noble, i. 334-5. [30] Young-Lady's grammar! [31] Word torn out.

"had from some reports of his being a vicious man, given to play and "suchlike things; which office was done by some who had a mind to "break-off the match. My Sister, hearing these things, was resolved to "know the truth of it;[32] and truly did find all the reports to be false that "were recited of him. And to tell you the truth, they were so much "engaged in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking it "off. So that my Sister engaged me and all the friends she had, who "truly were very few, to speak in her behalf to my Father. Which we "did; but could not be heard to any purpose: only this my Father "promised, That if he were satisfied as to the report, the estate should "not break it off. With which she was satisfied.

"And so after this, there was a second Treaty; and my Lord Warwick "desired my Father, To name what it was he demanded more; and to "his utmost he would satisfy him. So my Father upon this made new "propositions; which my Lord Warwick has answered as much as he can. "But it seems there are Five-hundred pounds a year in my Lord Rich's "hands; which he has power to sell: and there are some people, who "persuade his Highness, that it would be dishonourable for him to "conclude it unless these 500*l.* a year be settled upon Mr. Rich, after "his father's death. And my Lord Rich having no esteem at all of his "son, because he is not so bad as himself, will not agree to it; and these "people upon this persuade my Father, That it would be a dishonour "to him to yield upon these terms; it would show, that he was made a "fool of by my Lord Rich. So the truth is, how it shall be, I cannot "understand, nor very few else;[33] and truly I must tell you privately, "they are so far engaged, that the match cannot be broke off! She "acquainted none of her friends with her resolution, when she did it.

"Dear Brother, this is, as far as I can tell, the state of the business. "The Lord direct them what to do. And all, I think, ought to beg of "God to pardon her in her doing of this thing;—which I must say truly "she was put upon by the 'course'[34] of things. Dear, let me beg my "excuses to my Sister for not writing. My best respects to her. Pardon "this trouble; and believe me that I shall ever strive to approve myself, "—dear Brother,

"Your affectionate sister and servant,

"Mary Cromwell."[35]

Poor little Fanny Cromwell was not yet much turned of Seventeen, when she had these complex things to do, with her friends, 'who truly were very few.' What 'people' they were that put, or strove to put, such notions into his Highness's head, with intent to frustrate the decidedly eligible Mr. Rich, none knows. I could suspect Ashley Cooper,

[32] Poor little Frances!

[33] Good little Mary!

[34] Torn out.

[35] Thurloe, v. 146.

or some such hand, if his date of favour still lasted. But it is gone, long months ago. Ashley is himself frustrated; cannot obtain this musical glib-tongued Lady Mary, says Ludlow;[36] goes over to opposition in consequence; is dismissed from his Highness's Council of State; and has to climb in this world by another ladder.—Poor Fanny's marriage did nevertheless take effect. Both Mary and she were duly wedded, Fanny to Rich, Mary to Lord Fauconberg, in November next year, within about a week of each other:[37] our friends, 'who truly were very few,' and our destinies, and our own lively wits, brought all right in the end.

LETTER CCXIII.

It was last Spring Assizes, as we saw, that the 'great appearances of country gentlemen and persons of the highest quality' took place; leading to the inference generally that this Protectorate Government is found worth acknowledging by England. Certainly a somewhat successful Government hitherto; in spite of difficulties great and many. It carries eternal Gospel in the one hand, temporal drawn Sword in the other. Actually it has compressed the turbulent humours of this Country, and encouraged the better tendencies thereof, hitherto; it has set its foot resolutely on the neck of English Anarchy, and points with its armed hand to noble onward and upward paths. All which, England, thankful

[36] Here is the passage, not hitherto printed; one of several 'Suppressed passages from *Ludlow's Memoirs*,' which still exist in the handwriting of John Locke (now in the possession of Lord Lovelace), having been duly copied out by Locke for his own poor *Life* of the Earl of Shaftesbury, to whom they all relate:

'Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was first for the King, then for the 'Parliament; then, in Cromwell's first Assembly,' the Little Parliament, was 'for the reformation; and afterwards for Cromwell against the reformation. 'Now' again, 'being denied Cromwell's Daughter Mary in marriage, he appears 'against Cromwell's design in the last Assembly,' the constitutioning Parliament, where his behaviour was none of the best; 'and is therefore dismissed 'the Council, Cromwell being resolved to act there as the chief juggler himself; 'and one Colonel Mackworth, a Lawyer about Shrewsbury, a person fit for 'his purpose, is chosen in his room.'—Mackworth was a Soldier as well as Lawyer; the same who, as Governor of Shrewsbury, gave negative response to Charles Second, when he summoned him on the road to Worcester, once upon a time. Mackworth was in the Council, and had even died, and entirely left the Council, before Anthony Ashley left it (*Thurloe*, iii. 581; and *Godwin*, iv. 288). My solid friend, absent in Ireland, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, falls into some errors! Court-rumour, this of his; truth in the heart of it, details rather vague;—not much worth verifying or rectifying here.

[37] Vol. i. p. 62.

at lowest for peace and order, by degrees recognises; with acquiescence, not without some slow satisfactory feeling. England is in peace at home; stands as the Queen of Protestantism abroad; defies Spain and Antichrist, protects poor Piedmont Protestants and servants of Christ;—has taken, all men admit, a nobler attitude than it ever had before.

Nor has the task been easy hitherto; nor is it like to be. No holiday work, governing such an England as this of Oliver Protector's; with strong Papistry abroad, and a Hydra of Anarchies at home! The domestic Hydra is not slain; cannot, by the nature of it, be *slain;* can only be scotched and mowed down, head after head, as it successively protrudes itself;—till, by the aid of Time, it slowly *die.* As yet, on any hint of foreign encouragement it revives again, requires to be scotched and mowed down again. His exiled Majesty Charles Stuart has got a new lever in hand, by means of this War with Spain.

Seven years ago his exiled Majesty's 'Embassy to Spain,' embassy managed by Chancellor Hyde and another, proved rather a hungry affair; and ended, I think, in little,—except the murder of poor Ascham, the then Parliament's Envoy at Madrid; whom, like Dutch Dorislaus, as 'an accursed regicide or abettor of regicides,' certain cut-throat servants of the said hungry Embassy broke-in upon, one afternoon, and slew. For which violent deed no full satisfaction could be got from Spain,—the murderers having taken 'sanctuary,' as was pleaded.[38] With that rather sorry result, and no other noticeable, Chancellor Hyde's Embassy took itself away again; Spain ordering it to go. But now, this fierce Protestant Protector breathing nothing but war, Spain finds that the English domestic Hydra, if well operated upon by Charles Stuart, might be a useful thing; and grants Charles Stuart some encouragements for that. His poor Majesty is coming to the seashore again; is to have 'Seven-thousand Spaniards' to invade England,—if the domestic Hydra will stir with effect. The domestic Hydra, I think, had better lie quiet for a while! This Letter to Henry Cromwell is to bid him too, for his part, be awake in Ireland to these things.

For the Hydra is not dead; and its heads are legion. Major Wildman, for example, sits safe in Chepstow: but Sexby, the Anabaptist Colonel, whom we could not take on that occasion, is still busy; has been 'trying to seduce the Fleet,' trying to do this and that; is now fairly gone to Spain, to treat with Antichrist himself for the purpose of bringing-in a Reign of Christ,—the truly desperate Anabaptist Colonel![39] It is a Hydra like few. Spiritual and Practical: Muggletonians, mad Quakers riding into Bristol, Fifth-Monarchists, Hungry Flunkies: ever scheming, plotting with or without hope, to 'seduce the Protector's Guard,' 'to

[38] Clarendon, iii. 498-509; Process and Pleadings in the Court of Spain upon the Death of Anthony Ascham (in *Harl. Miscell.* vi. 236-47).

[39] Clarendon, iii. 852; Thurloe, iv. 698, &c.

blow-up the Protector in his bedroom,' and do "other little fiddling things," as the Protector calls them,—which one cannot waste time in specifying! Only the slow course of nature can kill that Hydra: till a Colonel Sexby *die*, how can you keep him quiet?—

But what doubtless gives new vitality to plotting, in these weeks, is the fact that a General Election to Parliament is going on. There is to be a new Parliament;—in which may lie who knows what contentions. The Protector lost it last time, by the arithmetical account of heads; will he gain it this time? Account of heads is not exactly the Protector's basis; but he hopes he may now gain it even so. At all events, this wide foreign and domestic Spanish War cannot be carried on without supplies; he will first try it so,—then otherwise if not so.

'To Henry Cromwell, Major-General of the Army in Ireland.'

SON HARRY, 'Whitehall,' 26th August 1656.

We are informed, from several hands, that the old Enemy are forming designs to invade Ireland, as well as other parts of the Commonwealth; and that he and Spain have very great correspondence with some chief men in that Nation, for raising a sudden rebellion there.

Therefore we judge it very necessary that you take all possible care to put the Forces into such a condition as may answer anything that may fall-out in this kind. And to that end, that you contract the Garrisons in Ireland, as many as may be; and get a considerable marching Army into the field, in two or three bodies, to be left in the most proper and advantageous places for service, as occasion shall require. Taking also, in all other things, your best care you can to break and prevent the designs and combinations of the Enemy;—and a very particular regard is to be had to the North, where, without question, busy and discontented persons are working towards new disturbances. I do not doubt but you will communicate this thing to Colonel Cowper, to the end he may be more watchful and diligent in looking to this danger. I rest,

Your loving father,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

'Colonel Cowper' commands the Forces in Ulster. Plenty of details about him in Thurloe's Fourth Volume:—our readers can sufficiently conceive him without details. We are more interested to state, from a Letter of Thurloe's which goes along with this, that there are 'Fourteen Spanish ships plying about the Isle of Islay,' doubtless with an eye

* Sloane MSS. 4157, f. 209; and (with insignificant variations) Thurloe, v. 348.

to Carrickfergus; that we hope, and indeed believe, my Lord Henry will be on the alert. For the rest, the Elections are going well; all 'for peace and settlement,' as we hear, 'and great friends to the Government.' Ashley Cooper, indeed, has been chosen for Wilts: but, on the other hand, Bradshaw has missed in Cheshire; Sir Henry Vane has tried in three places and missed in all.[40] This is of date 26th August 1656; poor England universally sifting itself; trying what the arithmetical account of heads will do for it, once more.

LETTER CCXIV.

THE Portugal has done justice; reluctantly aware at last that jesuitries would not serve him.[41] The Spaniards, again, cower close within their harbours; patient of every insult; no ship will venture out, and no Plate Fleet will come in: and as for 'attempting Cadiz or Gibraltar,' the Sea-Generals, after mature survey, decide that without other force it cannot prudently be done. This is what Montague, with his clear eyes, has had to report to Secretary Thurloe on the latter enterprise: "I perceive "much desire that Gibraltar should be taken. My thoughts as to that "are, in short, these: That the likeliest way to get it is, By landing on "the sand, and quickly cutting it off between sea and sea, or so securing "our men there as that they may hinder the intercourse of the Town "with the Main; frigates lying near, too, to assist them:—and it is well "known that Spain never victualleth any place for one month. This will "want Four or Five thousand men, well formed and officered.—This is "my own only thought which I submit, at present."[42]

Whereupon the Lord Protector sends the following Orders; one other Sea Letter of his which we happen to have left. Mainly of Thurloe's composition, I perceive; but worth preserving on various accounts.

To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 28th August 1656.

We have received your Letters of the 19th of June brought to us by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here the 11th of July.

[40] Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, date 26th Aug. (v. 349).

[41] Meadows to Blake and Montague, 13th May 1656: Thurloe, v. 14;—see ib. 69, 116, and 118 (the Portugal's Letter to Oliver, 24th June 1656).

[42] Montague to Thurloe, in cipher, 20th April to 29th May 1656 (*Thurloe*, v. 67-70), 'received by Captain Lloyd, who arrived here 11th July,'—and has brought other Letters, joint Letters from the Generals, of somewhat later date, as we shall perceive.

By those Letters, and by what Captain Lloyd related by word of mouth,—which is not contradicted by yours of the 1st and 3d of July, 'since' received by the Squadron of Ten Ships (which are all safely arrived in the Channel), nor by any other intelligence received by other hands,—we find That the Spaniard keeps 'within' his Ports, and doth not yet prepare any considerable Fleet to come to Sea; and that, in the condition you and they were then in, they were not to be attempted in their Harbours. And as for any design upon Gibraltar, we see by General Montague's Letter to the Secretary, that nothing therein was feasible without a good Body of Landsmen.—So that, upon the whole, there remains nothing to be done, in those seas for the present, which should require the whole Fleet now with you to remain there. Besides that the Great Ships cannot, without great danger, be kept out, the winter-time, upon that coast.

Upon these grounds we are of opinion, with you, That a good Squadron of Frigates will, in this season, be sufficient to answer any opportunity of service which may present itself. And therefore we have resolved That about the number of Twenty Ships, such as you shall judge proper and fit for that purpose, be kept in those seas; and the rest be sent home, with the first opportunity of wind and weather:—and desire that you will give order therein accordingly. And in respect it will be necessary that we advise with one of you at least, upon this whole affair; and it being also very inconvenient that you should be *both* from the head of the Fleet which remains behind, the management thereof being of so great concernment to the Commonwealth,—we would have General Blake to stay with the Fleet, and General Montague to come with the Squadron which comes home.

For the service which these Ships 'that stay' should be applied to,—we need say nothing therein; but refer you to the former Instructions. That which we believe the Enemy will most intend will be the carrying-on his Trade to the West Indies; which if he can effectually do, he will not much care for what else is done upon him. And our intelligence is, That at this time he is fitting-out some Ships of war, and others, to send from Cadiz into those parts;—the certainty whereof we suppose you may know. And therefore that which is most to be endeavoured is, The spoiling him in that Trade, by intercepting his Fleets either going to or

coming from those parts,[43]—and as much as may be To destroy his correspondencies thither. It will be of great use also to prevent the coming of any Materials for Shipping, or other contraband goods into Cadiz or any of his Ports: which you can have an eye to; and, as much as may be, prejudice his correspondency with Flanders.

Besides these things, and what other damage you may have an opportunity to do the Enemy, we, in our keeping the said Fleet in those Seas, had an eye to the Preservation of the Trade of this Commonwealth in the Straits and to Portugal:[44] which we suppose could not be driven on without a very good countenance and strength,—in respect the Enemy would otherwise be able with a few ships to obstruct this Trade wholly, and to take all that passed either to or from the one place or the other. But our intention is not To reckon up every particular wherein this Fleet may be useful, but only To let you know our general scope; and to leave the management and improvement thereof to the prudence and direction of him who is to abide upon the place. Whom we beseech the Lord to be present with; and to guide him to that which may be for the good of this Commonwealth, and according to His own will.

These have been our thoughts, and the considerations we have had upon this Affair. If anything else doth occur to you different from what is here expressed, either as to the number of Ships to remain in those seas, or the way and manner of weakening the Enemy and managing the War against him,—we desire to understand your sense and advice hereupon, with all possible speed; sooner, if it may be, than the return of the aforesaid Squadron. And in the mean time we are not willing to tie you up positively to the number of Twenty Ships to remain on that Coast; but give you a latitude to keep a lesser or greater number there, for answering the ends aforesaid, and 'so' as you shall find the occasion to require, which possibly may be very much varied since the last we had from you.—For what concerns the Provisions of victuals and other things which the Fleet will stand in need of, the Commissioners of the Admiralty have direction to write at large to you. Unto whose Letters we refer you;—and desire you

[43] 'thence' in orig.

[44] Here, I think, at the beginning of this Paragraph, the Protector himself has more decidedly struck in.

and the whole Fleet to rest assured that nothing shall be omitted to be done, here, for your supply and encouragement upon all occasions.

Your loving friend,
'OLIVER P.' *

About a fortnight ago, August 13th, learned Bulstrode went with the Swedish Ambassador to dine with a famed Sea-General, Sir George Ayscough, of whom we have occasionally heard; who lives for the present, retired from service, 'at his House in Surrey:' House not known to me; which by the aid of 'ponds, moats,' and hydraulic contrivances, he has made to 'stand environed in water like a ship at sea,'—very charming indeed; and says he has 'cast anchor' here. Our entertainment was superb. The brilliant Swedish Ambassador and Sir George spake much about frigates, their rates of sailing, their capabilities of fighting, and other technical topics; which a learned mind might, without much tedium, listen to. 'After dinner, the Ambassador came round by 'Hampton Court, to take his leave of the Lady Claypole and her 'Sisters;'[45]—which latter small fact, in the ancient Autumn afternoon, one rather loves to remember! As for this Swedish Ambassador, he is just about quitting England, the high-tempered, clear-glancing man; having settled 'copperas,' 'contrabanda,' and many other things, to mutual satisfaction;—nay it is surmised he has thoughts of inviting Ayscough into Sweden to teach them seamanship there; which, however, shall not concern us on this occasion.[46]

* Thurloe, v. 363. 'Sent to Plymouth, To be sent to the Generals by Captain Hatsell.'

[45] Whitlocke, pp. 638-9.

[46] *Biog. Britan.* § Ayscough.

SPEECH V.

But the new Parliament is now about assembling; wherein we shall see what conclusions will be tried! A momentous question for his Highness and the Council of State; who have been, with interest enough, perusing and pondering the List of Names returned. On the whole, a hopeful Parliament, as Thurloe had expected: Official persons, these and others known as friends to this Government, are copiously elected: the great body of the Parliament seems to consist of men well-affected to his Highness, and even loyal to him; who, witnessing the course he follows, wish him heartily God-speed thereon. Certain others there are, and in considerable number, of stiff Republican ways, or given to turbulence in general,—a Haselrig, a Thomas Scott, an Ashley Cooper: these, as a mass of leaven which might leaven the whole lump, and produce one knows not what in the way of fermentation, are clearly very dangerous. But for these also his Highness and the Council of State, in the present anomalous condition of the Nation, have silently provided an expedient. Which we hope may be of service. On the whole, we trust this Parliament may prove a better than the last.

At all events, on Wednesday 17th September 1656, Parliament, Protector, all in due state, do assemble at the Abbey Church; and, with reverence and credence, hear Doctor Owen, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, very pertinently preach to them from these old words of Isaiah,—old and yet always new and true: *What shall one then answer to the Messengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the Poor of His People shall trust in it.*[1] After which, all having removed, still in due state, to the Painted Chamber, and there adjusted themselves, the Protector, rising in his elevated place and taking off his hat, now speaks. The Speech, reported by one knows not whom, lies in old Manuscript in the British Museum; and printed in late years in the Book called *Burton's Diary;* here and there in a very dreary, besmeared, unintelligible condition; from which, as heretofore, a pious Editor strives to rescue it. Sufficiently studied, it becomes intelligible, nay luminous. Let the reader too read with piety, with a real endeavour to understand.

[1] Isaiah, xiv. 32.

GENTLEMEN,

When I came hither, I did think that a duty was incumbent upon me a little to pity myself; because, this being a very extraordinary occasion, I thought I had very many things to say unto you, 'and was somewhat burdened and straitened thereby.' But truly now, seeing *you* in such a condition as you are,[2] I think I must turn off 'my pity' in this, as I hope I shall in everything else;—and consider *you* as certainly not being able long to bear that condition and heat that you are now in.——'So far as possible, 'on this large subject, let us be brief; not studying the Art of 'Rhetoricians.' Rhetoricians, whom I do not pretend to 'much 'concern with;' neither with them, nor with what they use to deal in: Words!

Truly *our* business is to speak Things! The Dispensations of God that are upon us do require it; and that subject upon which we shall make our discourse is somewhat of very great interest and concernment, both for the glory of God, and with reference to His Interest in the world. I mean His peculiar, His most peculiar Interest, 'His Church, the Communion of the faithful Followers of Christ;'—and that will not leave any of us to exclude His general Interest, which is the concernment of the Living People, 'not as Christians but as human creatures,' within these three Nations, and all the Dependencies thereupon. I have told you I should speak to *things;* things that concern these Interests: The Glory of God, and His Peculiar Interest in the world,—which 'latter' is more extensive, I say more extensive, than the People of all these three Nations with the appurtenances, or the countries and places, belonging unto them.[3]

The first thing, therefore, that I shall speak to is *That* that is the first lesson of Nature: Being and Preservation. [*Begin at the basis: How are we to get continued at all as a Nation, not trampled under foot by Invaders, Anarchies, and reduced to wreck?*] As to that of Being, I do think I do not ill style it the *first* consideration which Nature teacheth the Sons of Adam:—and then I think we shall enter into a field large enough when we come to consider that

[2] Place crowded, weather hot.

[3] 'more extensive:' *more important* would have better suited what went before; yet 'extensive' is in all likelihood the word, for his Highness is here branching out into a second idea, which he goes on to blend with the primary one, of 'the concernment of the general mass of the People.'

of Well-being. But if Being itself be not first well laid, I think the other will hardly follow!

Now in order to this, to the Being and Subsistence of these Nations with all their Dependencies: The conservation of that, 'namely of our National Being,' is first to be viewed with respect to those who seek to undo it, and so make it *not to be;* and then very naturally we shall come to the consideration of what will make it *be,* of what will *keep* its being and subsistence. [*His Highness's heads of method.*]

'Now' that which plainly seeks the destruction of the Being of these Nations is, out of doubt: The endeavour and design of all the common Enemies of them. I think, truly, it will not be hard to find out who those Enemies are; nor what hath made them so! I think, They are all the wicked men in the world, whether abroad or at home, that are the Enemies to the very Being of these Nations;—and this upon a common account, from the very enmity that is in them 'to all such things.' Whatsoever could serve the glory of God and the interest of His People,—which they see to be more eminently, yea more eminently patronised and professed in this Nation (we will not speak it with vanity) than in all the Nations in the world: *this* is the common ground of the common enmity entertained against the prosperity of our Nation, against the very Being of it.—But we will not, I think, take up our time, contemplating who these Enemies are, and what they are, in the general notion: we will labour to *specificate* our Enemies; to know what persons and bodies of persons they practically are that seek the very destruction and [4] Being of these Three Nations.

And truly I would not have laid such a foundation but to the end I might very particularly communicate with you 'about that same matter.' For which 'above others,' I think, you are called hither at this time:—That I might particularly communicate with you about the many dangers these Nations stand in, from Enemies abroad and at home; and advise with you about the remedies, and means to obviate these dangers. 'Dangers' which,—say I, and I shall leave it to you whether you will join with me or no,—strike at the very Being and 'vital' interest of these Nations. And therefore, coming to particulars, I will shortly represent to you the estate of your affairs in that respect: in respect 'namely' of the Enemies you are engaged with; and how you come to be engaged with those Enemies, and how they come to be, *as* heartily, I

[4] 'of the' would be more grammatical; but much less Oliverian.

believe, engaged against you. [*His Highness's utterance is terribly rusty hitherto; creaky, uncertain, difficult! He will gather strength by going. Wait till the axles get warm a little!*]

Why, truly, your great Enemy is the Spaniard. He is a natural enemy. He is naturally so; he is naturally so throughout,—by reason of that enmity that is in him against whatsoever is of God. 'Whatsoever is of God' which is in *you*, or which may be in you; contrary to that which *his* blindness and darkness, led on by superstition, and the implicitness of his faith in submitting to the See of Rome, actuate[5] him unto!—With this King and State, I say, you are at present in hostility. We put you into this hostility. You will give us leave to tell you how. [*By sending out your Hispaniola Fleet, Christmas gone a year,—which has issued rather sorrily, your Highness!*] For we are ready to excuse 'this and' most of our actions,—and to justify them too, as well as to excuse them,—upon the ground of Necessity. 'And' the ground of Necessity, for justifying of men's actions, is above all considerations of instituted Law; and if this or any other State should go about,—as I know they never will,—to make Laws against Events, against what *may* happen, 'then' I think it is obvious to any man, they will be making Laws against Providence; events, and issues of things, being from God alone, to whom all issues belong.

The Spaniard is your enemy; and your enemy, as I tell you, naturally, by that antipathy which is in him,—'and also' providentially,[6] and this in divers respects. You could not get an honest or honourable Peace from him: it was sought by the Long Parliament; it was not attained. It could not be attained with honour and honesty. I say, it could not be attained with honour and honesty. And truly when I say that, 'I do but say,' He is naturally throughout *an enemy;* an enmity is put into him by God. "I will put an enmity between thy seed and her seed;"[7]—which goes but for little among statesmen, but is more considerable than all things! [*Yea, your Highness; it is!—Listen to what his Highness himself says of his reasons for going to war with Spain. "Statesmen" too, if they can separate therein what is transitory from what is perennial and eternal, may find it still very worthy of attention. He who has in him, who manifests in the ways of him, an "enmity to God," and goes*

[5] 'acts' in orig., now as always.

[6] Means, not 'luckily' as now, but simply 'by special ordering of Providence.'

[7] Genesis, iii. 15.

about patronising unveracities, rotten delusions, brazen falsities, pestilent injustices,—with him, whatever his seeming extent of money-capital and worldly prosperity may be, I would advise no nation nor statesman nor man to be prompt in clapping-up an alliance. He will not come to good, I think; not he, for one. Bad security in his firm; have no trade with him. With him your only fit trade is, Duel to the death, when the time comes for that!] And he that considers not such natural enmity, the *providential* enmity, as well as the *accidental*, I think he is not well acquainted with Scripture and the things of God. And the Spaniard is not only our enemy accidentally, but he is providentially so; God having in His wisdom disposed it so to be, when we made a breach with the Spanish Nation 'long ago.'

No sooner did this Nation form what is called (unworthily) the Reformed Religion [*It was not half reformed!*] after the death of Queen Mary, by the Queen Elizabeth of famous memory,—we need not be ashamed to call her so! [*No, your Highness; the royal court-phrase expresses in this case an exact truth. She was, and is, "of famous memory"*]—but the Spaniard's design became, By all unworthy, unnatural means, to destroy that Person, and to seek the ruin and destruction of these Kingdoms. For me to instance in particulars upon that account, were to trouble you at a very unseasonable time: there is a Declaration extant [*The Council's "Declaration," in October last*], which very fully hath in it the origin of the Spaniard venting himself upon this Nation; and a series of it[8] from those very beginnings to this present day. But his enmity was partly upon that general account which all are agreed 'about.' The French, all the Protestants in Germany, all have agreed, That his design was the empire of the whole Christian World, if not more;—and upon *that* ground he looks, 'and hath looked,' at this Nation as his greatest obstacle. And as to what his attempts have been for that end,—I refer you to that Declaration, and to the observations of men who read History. It would not be difficult to call to mind the several Assassinations designed upon that Lady, that great Queen: the attempts upon Ireland, the Spaniards' invading of it; their designs of the same nature upon *this* Nation,—public designs, private designs, all manner of designs, to accomplish this great and general end. Truly King James made a Peace; but whether this Nation, and the interest of all Protestant Christians, suffered not more by that Peace, than ever by Spain's hostility, I refer to your consideration!

[8] Of 'his ventings,' namely.

Thus a State which you can neither have peace with nor reason from,—that is the State with which you have enmity at this time, and against which you are engaged. And give me leave to say this unto you, because it is truth, and most men know it, That the Long Parliament did endeavour, but could not obtain satisfaction 'from the Spaniard' all the time they sat: for their Messenger [*Poor Ascham!*] was murdered: and when they asked satisfaction for the blood of your poor people unjustly shed in the West Indies [*Yes, at Tortuga, at St. Kitt's; in many a place and time!*], and for the wrongs done elsewhere; when they asked liberty of conscience for your people who traded thither,—satisfaction in none of these things would be given, but was denied. I say, they denied satisfaction either for your Messenger that was murdered, or for the blood that was shed, or the damages that were done in the West Indies. No satisfaction at all; nor any reason offered *why* there should not be liberty 'of conscience' given to your people that traded thither. Whose trade was very considerable there, and drew many of your people thither; and begot an apprehension in *us* 'as to their treatment there,'—whether in *you* or no, let God judge between you and Himself. I judge not: but all of us know that the people who went thither to manage the trade there, were imprisoned. We desired 'but' such a liberty as 'that' they might keep their Bibles in their pockets, to exercise their liberty of religion for themselves, and not be under restraint. But there is not liberty of conscience to be had 'from the Spaniard;' neither is there satisfaction for injuries, nor for blood. When these two things were desired, the Ambassador told us, "It was to ask his Master's two eyes;"[9] to ask both his eyes, asking these things of him!—

Now if this be so, why truly then here is some little foundation laid to justify the War that has been entered-upon[10] with the Spaniard! And not only so: but the plain truth of it is, Make any peace with any State that is Popish and subjected to the determination of Rome and 'of' the Pope himself,—you are bound, and they are loose. It is the pleasure of the Pope at any time to tell you, That though the man is murdered [*Poor Ascham, for example!*], yet his murderer has got into the sanctuary! And equally true is it, and hath been found by common and constant

[9] 'these two things:' Exemption to our traders from injury in the West Indies, and Liberty to have Bibles and worship:—See Thurloe (i. 760-1); Bryan Edwards (i. 141-3); &c.

[10] 'that was had' in orig.

experience, That Peace is but to be kept so long as the Pope saith Amen to it. [*What is to be done with such a set of people?*]—We have not 'now' to do with any Popish State except France: and it is certain that *they* do not think themselves under such a tie to the Pope; but think themselves at liberty to perform honesties with nations in agreement with them, and protest against the obligation of such a thing as that,—'of breaking your word at the Pope's bidding.' *They* are able to give us an explicit answer to anything reasonably demanded of them: and there is no other Popish State we can speak of, save this only, but will break their promise or keep it as they please upon these grounds,—being under the lash of the Pope, to be by him determined, 'and made to decide.'

In the time when Philip Second was married to Queen Mary, and since that time, through Spanish power and instigation, Twenty-thousand Protestants were murdered in Ireland. We thought, being denied just things,—we thought it our duty to get that by the sword which was not to be had otherwise! And this hath been the spirit of Englishmen; and if so, certainly it is, and ought to be, the spirit of men that have *higher* spirits! [*Yes, your Highness: "Men that are Englishmen and more,—Believers in God's Gospel, namely!"—Very clumsily said; but not at all clumsily meant, and the very helplessness of the expression adding something of English and Oliverian character to it.*]—With that State you are engaged. And it is a great and powerful State:—though I may say also, that with all other Christian States you are at peace. All these 'your other' engagements were upon you before this Government was undertaken: War with France, Denmark,—nay, upon the matter, War, 'or as good as War,' with Spain 'itself.' I could instance how it was said 'in the Long-Parliament time,' "We will have a war in the Indies, though we fight them not at home." I say, we are at peace with all other Nations, and have only a war with Spain. I shall say somewhat 'farther' to you, which will let you see our clearness 'as' to that, by and by.

Having thus 'said, we are' engaged with Spain,—'that is the root of the matter;' that is the party that brings *all* your enemies before you. [*Coming now to the Home Malignants.*] It doth: for so it is now, that Spain hath espoused that Interest which you have all along hitherto been conflicting with,—Charles Stuart's Interest. And I would but meet the gentleman upon a fair discourse who is willing that that Person should come back again! —but I dare not believe any in this room is. [*Heavens, no; not*

one of us!] And I say, it doth not detract at all from your Cause, nor from your ability to make defence of it, That God by His providence hath so disposed that the King of Spain should espouse that Person. And I say 'farther' [*His Highness's spirit gets somewhat tumultuous here, and blazes up with several ideas at once,—producing results of "some inextricableness," as he himself might phrase it*], No man but might be very well satisfied that it is not for aversion to that Person [*Not for his sake that we have gone to war with Spain: —the Cavaliers talk loudly so, and it is not so*]—! And the "choosing out" (as was said today[11]) "a Captain to lead us *back into Egypt*," 'what honest man has *not* an aversion to that?'—if there *be* such a place? I mean metaphorically and allegorically such a place; 'if there be,' that is to say, A *returning* 'on the part of some' to all those things we have been fighting against, and a destroying of all that good (as we had some hints today) which we have attained unto—?—I am sure my Speech 'and defence of the Spanish War' will signify very little, if such grounds [*Grounds indicated, in this composite "blaze of ideas," which is luminous enough, your Highness; but too simultaneous for being very distinct to strangers!*] go not for good! Nay, I will say this to you, Not a man in England, that is disposed to comply with Papists and Cavaliers, but to him my Speech here is the greatest parable, the absurdest discourse! And in a word, we could wish they were all where Charles Stuart is, all who declare ["*By their cavilling at Spanish Wars and so on:" his Highness looks animated!*] that they are of that spirit. I do, with all my heart;—and I would help them with a boat to carry them over, who are of that mind! Yea, and if you shall think it a duty to drive them over by arms, I will help in that also!——

You are engaged with such an Enemy; a foreign enemy, who hath such allies among ourselves:—this last said hath a little vehemency in it [*His Highness repents him of blazing up into unseemly heat*]: but it is well worth your consideration.

Though I seem to be, all this while, upon the justice of the business, yet my desire is to let you see the dangers 'and grand crisis' this Nation stands in 'thereby.' All the honest interests; yea, all interests of the Protestants, in Germany, Denmark, Helvetia and the Cantons, and all the interests in Christendom, are the same as yours. If you succeed, if you succeed well and act well, and be convinced what is God's Interest, and prosecute it, you will

[11] In Owen's Sermon.

find that you act for a very great many who are God's own. Therefore I say that your danger is from the Common Enemy abroad; who is the head of the Papal Interest, the head of the Antichristian Interest,—who is so described in Scripture, so forespoken of, and so fully, under that characteral name 'of Antichrist' given him by the Apostle in the *Epistle to the Thessalonians*, and likewise so expressed in the *Revelations;* which are sure and plain things! Except you will deny the truth of the Scriptures, you must needs see that that State is so described in Scripture to be Papal and Antichristian. [*Who would not go to war with it!*] I say, with this Enemy, and upon this account, you have the quarrel,—with the Spaniard.

And truly he hath an interest in your bowels;[12] he hath so. The Papists in England,—they have been accounted, ever since I was born, Spaniolised. There is not a man among us can hold up his face against that. [*The justifying of the Spanish War is a great point with his Highness!*] They never regarded France, they never regarded any other Papist State where a 'hostile' Interest was, 'but Spain only.' Spain was their patron. Their patron all along, in England, in Ireland and Scotland: no man can doubt of it. Therefore I must needs say, this 'Spanish' Interest is also, in regard to your home-affairs, a great source of your danger. It is, and it evidently is; and will be more so,—upon that account that I told you of: He hath espoused Charles Stuart! With whom he is fully in agreement; for whom he hath raised Seven or Eight Thousand men, and has them now quartered at Bruges; to which number Don John of Austria has promised that, as soon as the campaign is ended, which it is conceived will be in about five or six weeks, he shall have Four or Five Thousand added. And the Duke of Neuburg, who is a Popish prince, hath promised good assistance according to his power; and other Popish States the like. In this condition you are with that State 'of Spain;' and in this condition through unavoidable necessity; because your enemy was *naturally* an enemy, and is providentially too become so. [*Always, by the law of his being, as Antichristian to Christian, a* VIRTUAL *enemy; and now Providence, with beneficent wisdom, has developed him into an* ACTUAL *one.—"That was his Highness's fundamental reason for rushing at him in the West Indies? Because he was Antichrist?' ask some Moderns.—Why yes, it might help, my red-tape Friends! I know well, if I could fall-in with Antichrist*

[12] Old phrase for 'the interior of your own country.'

anywhere, with Supreme Quack and Damnability anywhere, I should be right happy to have a stroke at him if there seemed any chance!]

And now farther,—as there is a complication of these Interests abroad, so there is a complication of them here. Can we think that Papists and Cavaliers shake not hands in England? It is unworthy, unchristian, un-Englishlike,[13] 'say you.' Yes; but it doth serve to let you see, and for that end I tell it you that you may see, your danger, and the source thereof. Nay it is not only thus, in this condition of hostility, that we stand towards Spain; and towards all the Interest which would make void and frustrate everything that has been doing for you; namely, towards the Popish Interest, Papists and Cavaliers;—but it is also ——[*His Highness finds this sentence will not do, and so tries it another way*]—That is to say, your danger is *so great*, if you will be sensible of it, by reason of Persons who pretend *other* things! [*Coming now to the great Miscellany of Anabaptists, Republicans, Levellers; your Allens, Sexbys, Overtons.*] 'Pretend, I say;' yea who, though perhaps they *do* not all suit in their hearts with the said 'Popish' Interest—[*Sentence left ruinous; sense gradually becomes visible*]—Yet every man knows, and must know, that discontented parties are among us somewhere! They must expect backing and support somewhere. They must end in the Interest of the Cavalier at the long-run. That must be their support!—I could have reckoned this in another 'head' [*Half soliloquising, his Highness; giving us a glimpse into the strange seething, simmering inner-man of him*]—But I give you an account of things as they arise to me. Because I desire to clear them to you! Not discoursively, in the oratoric way; but to let you see the matter of fact,—to let you see how the state of your affairs stands. [*Well, your Highness; that certainly is the grand object of speaking to us. To show* ME *what* THOU *seest, what is in* THEE: *why else should one human being dare to wag his tongue to another? It is frightful otherwise. One almost loves this incondite half-articulation of his Highness, in comparison.*]

Certain it is, there was, not long since, an endeavour to make an Insurrection in England. [*Penruddock at Salisbury;—we heard of Wagstaff and him!*] It was going on for some time before it broke out. It was so before the last Parliament sat. 'Nay,' it was so not only from the time of the undertaking of this Government; but the spirit and principle of it did work in the Long-Parliament 'time.'

[13] To combine with Papists, even for Royalists to do so.

From that time to this, hath there been nothing but enterprising and designing against you. And this is no strange or new thing to tell you: Because it is true and certain that the Papists, the Priests and Jesuits have a great influence upon the Cavalier Party; they and the Cavaliers prevail upon the discontented spirits of the Nation,—who are not all so apt to see where the dangers lie, nor to what the management of affairs tend. Those 'Papists and Cavaliers' do foment all things that tend to *dis*service; to propagate discontentments upon the minds of men. And if we would instance, in particulars, those that have manifested this,—we could tell you how Priests and Jesuits have insinuated themselves into men's society; pretending the same things that *they* pretended;—whose ends, 'these Jesuits' ends,' have, out of doubt, been what I have told you. [*Dark spectres of Jesuits; knitting-up Charles Stuart, the Spaniard, and all manner of Levellers and discontented persons, into one Antichristian mass, to overwhelm us therewith!*]

We had that Insurrection. It was intended first to the assassination of my person;—which I would not remember as anything at all considerable to myself or to you [*Very well, your Highness!*]: for they would have had to cut throats beyond human calculation before they could have been able to effect their design. But you know it very well, 'this of the assassination;'—it is no fable. Persons were arraigned for it before the Parliament sat; and tried, and upon proof condemned [*Gerard and Vowel; we remember them!*]—for their designs to cut the throat of myself, and three or four more; whom they had singled out as being, a little beyond ordinary, industrious to preserve the peace of the Nation. And did think to make a very good issue 'in that way,' to the accomplishment of their designs! I say, this was made good upon the Trial. Before the Parliament sat, all the time the Parliament sat, they were about it. We did hint these things to the Parliament people by several persons, who acquainted them therewith. But what fame we lay under I know not! [*Suspicious of us in that Parliament!*] It was conceived, it seems, we had things[14] which rather intended to persuade agreement and consent, and bring money out of the people's purses, or I know not what:—in short, nothing was believed [*Very beautifully rebutted, your Highness; without even anger at it; as the Lion walks quietly on through cobwebs. We had "things" which rather intended to &c. &c. What*

[14] Means 'we made statements;' very Oliverian expression.

most articulate rhetoric could match this half-articulate,—articulate enough for the occasion!]; though there was a series of things distinctly and plainly communicated to many Members.

The Parliament rose about the middle of January. By the 12th of March after, the people were in arms. But "they were a company "of mean fellows,"—alas!—"not a lord, nor a gentleman, nor a "man of fortune, nor a this nor that, among them: but it was "a poor headstrong people, a company of rash fellows who were at "the undertaking of this,"—and that was all! And by such things [*His Highness's face indicates that he means "no-things," "babble-ments"*] have men 'once well-affected' lost their consciences and honours, complying, 'coming to agreement with Malignants,' upon such notions as these!—Give me leave to tell you, We know it; we are able to prove it. And I refer you to that Declaration[15] which was for guarding against Cavaliers (as I did before to that other 'Declaration' which set down the grounds of our War with Spain), Whether these things were true or no? If men will not believe,—we are satisfied, we do our duty. [*A suspicious people, your Highness: nay not suspicious, so much as incredulous, obstinate, dreadfully thick of skin and sense,—and unused to such phenomena as your Highness!*]—If we let you know things and the ground of them, it is satisfaction enough to *us:* But to see how men can reason themselves out of their honours and consciences in their compliance with those sort of people—!—Which, truly I must needs say, some men had compliance with, who I thought never *would* for all the world: I must tell you so.—

These men rise in March. And that it was a general Design, I think all the world must know and acknowledge. For it is as evident as the day, that the King [*We may call him "King"*] sent Sir Joseph Wagstaff and another, the Earl of Rochester, to the North. And that it was general, we had not by suspicion or imagination; but we know individuals! We are able to make appear, That persons who carried themselves the most demurely and fairly of any men in England were engaged in this business. And he that gave us our intelligence lost his life for it in Neuburg Country [*Yes, Manning was shot there; he had told us Hyde was cock-sure*];—I think I may now speak of that, because he is dead:—but he did discover, from time to time, a full intelligence of these things. Therefore, How men of wicked spirits may traduce us in that matter; or, notwithstanding all that hath been done,

[15] Can be read in *Parliamentary History*, xx. 434 et seqq.

may still continue their compliances 'with the Malignants;'—I leave it. [*Yes, let* THEM *look to that.*] I think England cannot be safe unless Malignants be carried far away!—

There was never any design on foot but we could hear it out of the Tower. He who commanded there[16] would give us account, That within a fortnight or such a thing[17] there would be some stirrings; for a great concourse of people were coming to them, and they had very great elevations of spirit. [*Vigilant Barkstead!*] And not only there; but in all the Counties of England. We have had informations that they were upon designs all over England (besides some particular places which came to our particular assurance), by knowledge we had from persons in the several Counties of England.

And if this *be* so, then, as long as commotions can be held on foot, you are in danger by your War with Spain; with whom all the Papal Interest is joined. This Pope[18] is a person all the world knows to be a person of zeal for his Religion,—wherein perhaps he may shame *us*,—and a man of contrivance, and wisdom, and policy; and his Designs are known to be, all over, nothing but an Endeavour to unite all the Popish Interests in all the Christian world, against this Nation above any, and against all the Protestant Interest in the world.—If this be so, and if you will take a measure of these things; if we must still hold the esteem that we have had 'for Spaniards,' and be ready to shake hands with them and the Cavaliers,—what doth this differ from the Bishop of Canterbury [*Poor old Laud, and his Surplices!*] 'striving' to reconcile matters of religion; if this temper be upon us to unite with these 'Popish' men in Civil Things? Give me leave to say, and speak what I know! If this be men's mind, I tell you plainly,—I hope I need not; but I wish all the Cavaliers in England, and all the Papists, heard me declare it, and many besides yourselves have 'heard me:' There are a company of poor men that are ready to spend their blood against such compliance! [*Right so, your Highness; that is the grand cardinal certainty! An irrevocable Act of Legislature passed in one's own heart. In spite of all clamours and jargons, and*

[16] Barkstead, a Goldsmith once, a severe vigilant Colonel now; who has seen much service.

[17] 'time' might be the word; but I am getting to love this 'thing.'

[18] One *Chigi* by natural name, called Alexander VII. as Pope; an 'Antijansenist Pope,' say the Books. With whom, beyond the indispensable, let us crave not to be acquainted.

constitutional debatings in Parliament and out of it, there is a man or two will have himself cut in pieces before that "shaking of hands" take place. In fact, I think Christ and Antichrist had better not try shaking of hands; no good will come of it!—Does not his Highness look uncommonly animated?]—and I am persuaded of the same thing in you!

If this be our condition,—with respect had to this, truly let us go a little farther. For I would lay open the danger wherein I think in my conscience we stand; and if God give not your hearts to see and discern what is obvious, we shall sink, and the house will fall about our ears,—upon even 'what are called' "such sordid attempts" as these same! Truly there are a great many people in this Nation who "would not reckon-up every pitiful thing,"—perhaps like the nibbling of a mouse at one's heel; but only "considerable dangers"! I will tell you plainly 'what to me seems dangerous;' it is not a time for compliments nor rhetorical speeches,—I have none, truly;—but to tell you how we *find* things.[19]

There is a generation of men in this Nation who cry-up nothing but righteousness and justice and liberty [*Coming now to the Levellers and "Commonwealth's-men"*]; and these are diversified into several sects, and sorts of men; and though they may be contemptible in respect they are many, and so not like to make a solid vow to do you mischief,—yet they are apt to agree *in aliquo tertio*. They are known (yea, well enough) to shake hands with,—I should be loath to say with Cavaliers,—but with all the scum and dirt of this Nation [*Not loath to say that, your Highness?*], to put you to trouble. And when I come to speak of the *Remedies*, I shall tell you what are the most apt and proper remedies in these respects. I speak now of the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury, 'your Wagstaffs and Penruddocks openly in arms'— —[*Sudden prick of anger stings his Highness at the thought of that great Peril, and how it was treated and scouted by the incredulous Thickskinned; and he plunges in this manner*]— — I doubt whether it be believed there ever was any rising in North Wales 'at the same time;' at Shrewsbury; at Rufford Abbey, where were about Five-hundred horse; or at Marston Moor; or in Northumberland, and the other places,—where all these Insurrections were at that very time! [*Truly it is difficult to keep one's temper: sluggish*

[19] Paragraph irretrievably misreported; or undecipherable for want of the tones and looks accompanying it;—in a dim uncertain manner displays the above as a kind of meaning.

mortals saved from destruction; and won't so much as admit it!] — — There was a Party which was very proper to come between the Papists and Cavaliers; and that *Levelling* Party hath some accession lately, which goes under a *finer* name or notion! I think they would now be called "Commonwealth's-men;" who perhaps have right to it little enough. And it is strange that men of fortune and great estates [*Lord Grey of Groby; he is in the Tower; he and others*] should join with such a people. But if the *fact* be so, there will need no stretch of wit to make it evident, it being so by demonstration. [*His Highness still harps on the incredulity of a thickskinned public, naturally very provoking to him in these perilous, abstruse and necessarily* SECRET *operations of his.*]

I say, this people at that very time, they were pretty numerous, —and do not despise them!—at the time when the Cavaliers were risen, this very Party had prepared a Declaration against all the things that had been transacted 'by us;' and called them by I know not what 'names,' "tyranny," "oppression," things "against the liberty of the subject;" and cried out for "justice," and "righteousness," and "liberty:"—and what was all this business for, but to join the Cavaliers to carry-on that Design? And these are things,—not words! That Declaration we got; and the Penner of it we got [*Locked him fast in Chepstow; the unruly Wildman!*]: and we have got intelligence also how the business was laid and contrived;—which was hatched in the time of the Sitting of that Parliament. I do not accuse anybody: but that was the *time* of it;—an unhappy time! And a plausible Petition had been penned, which must come to me, forsooth [*Through that obtuse Constitutioning Parliament, I fancy!*], "To consider of these things, and to give redress and remedies." And this was so.—

Now indeed I must tell you plainly, we suspected a great deal of violence then; and we did hunt it out. I will not tell you these are high things [*Call them "low" if you like; mice nibbling at one's heel!*]: but at that time when the Cavaliers were to rise, a Party was to seize upon General Monk in Scotland, and to commit him to Edinburgh Castle, upon this pretence of "liberty:" and when they had seized him, and clapped him by the heels, 'him' and some other true and faithful Officers, they had resolved a number at the same time should march away for London; leaving a party behind them,—to have their throats cut by the Scots! Though I will not say they would have 'purposely' brought it to this pass; yet it cannot be thought but that a considerable 'part of the'

Army would have followed them 'hither' at the heels. — — And not only thus: but this same spirit and principle designed some little fiddling things upon some of your Officers, to an assassination;[20] and an Officer was engaged, who was upon the Guard, to seize me in my bed. This was true. And other foolish designs there were,—as, To get into a room, to get gunpowder laid in it, and to blow-up the room where I lay. And this, we can tell you, is *true*. These are Persons not worthy naming; but the things are *true*. And such is the state we have stood in, and had to conflict with, since the last Parliament. And upon this account, and in this combination,[21] it is that I say to you, That the ringleaders to all this are none but your old enemies the Papists and Cavaliers. We have some 'of them' in prison for these things.

Now we would be loath to tell you of notions more seraphical! [*His Highness elevating his brows; face assuming a look of irony, of rough banter.*] *These* are poor and low conceits. We have had very seraphical notions! We have had endeavours to deal between two Interests;—one some section of that Commonwealth Interest; and another which was a notion of a Fifth-Monarchy Interest! [*A "NOTION;" not even worth calling a "SECTION" or "PARTY,"—such moonshine was it!*]—Which 'strange operation' I do not recite, nor what condition it is in, as thinking it not worthy our trouble. But *de facto* it hath been so, That there have been endeavours;—as there were endeavours to make a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate that Christ might be put to death, so there have been endeavours of reconciliation between the Fifth-Monarchy men and the Commonwealth men that there might be union in order to an end,—no *end* can be so bad as *that* of Herod's was,—but in order to end in blood and confusion! And, that you may know, 'to tell you candidly,' I profess I do not believe of these two last, of Commonwealth men and Fifth-Monarchy men, but that they have stood at a distance, 'aloof from Charles Stuart.' [*The Overtons, the Harrisons, are far above such a thing.*] I think they did not participate. I would be so charitable, I would be, That they did not. But this I will tell you, That as for the others, *they* did not only set these things on work; but they sent a fellow [*Sexby, the miserable outcast!*], a wretched creature, an apostate from religion and all honesty,—they sent him to Madrid to advise with the

[20] Means: 'they attempted to persuade some of your Officers to that "little fiddling thing."'

[21] Identity of time and attempt.

King of Spain to land Forces to invade the Nation. Promising satisfaction that they would comply and concur with him to have both men and moneys; undertaking both to engage the Fleet to mutiny, and also your Army to gain a garrison 'on the coast;' to raise a party, 'so' that if the Spaniard would say where he would land, they would be ready to assist him!—This person was sometimes [22] a Colonel in the Army. He went with Letters to the Archduke Leopoldus and Don John. That was an "Ambassador;" —and gave promise of much moneys: and hath been soliciting, and did obtain moneys; which he sent hither by Bills of Exchange:—and God, by His Providence, we being exceeding poor, directed that we lighted on some of them and some of the moneys! [*Keep hold of them, your Highness!*] Now if they be payable, let them be called for! [*Won't call, I believe!*]—If the House shall think fit to order any inspection into these things, they may have it.

We think it our duty to tell you of these things; and we can make them good. Here is your danger; that is it! Here is a poor Nation that hath wallowed in its blood;—though, thanks be to God, we have had Peace these four or five years: yet here is the condition we stand in. And I think I should be false to you, if I did not give you this true representation of it.

I am to tell you, by the way, a word to justify a Thing [*Coming to the Major-Generals*] which, I hear, is much spoken of. When we knew all these Designs before mentioned; when we found that the Cavaliers would not be quiet — — No quiet; "there is no peace to the wicked," saith the Scripture (*Isaiah*, Fifty-seventh): "They are like the troubled sea, which cannot rest; whose waters "throw up mire and dirt." [23] They cannot rest,—they have no Peace with God in Jesus Christ to the remission of sins! They do not know what belongs to that [*My brave one!*]; therefore they know not how to be at rest; therefore they can no more cease from their actions than they can cease to live,—nor so easily neither! — — Truly when that Insurrection was, and we saw it in all the roots and grounds of it, we did find out a little poor Invention, which I hear has been much regretted. I say, there was a little thing invented; which was, the erecting of your Major-Generals [*Yes!*]: To have a little inspection upon the People thus divided, thus discontented, thus dissatisfied, 'split' into divers interests,—and the workings of the Popish Party! 'Workings'

[22] Means 'at one time;' as almost all know.

[23] Isaiah, lvii. 20, 21.

of the Lord Taaff and others;[24] the most consisting of Natural-Irish rebels, and all those men you have fought against in Ireland, and have expulsed from thence, as having had a hand in that bloody Massacre;—of him and of those that were under his power; who were now to have joined in this excellent business of Insurrection!—

And upon such a Rising as that was,—truly I think if ever anything were justifiable as to Necessity, and honest in every respect, this was. And I could as soon venture my life with it as with anything I ever undertook! [*His Highness looks animated.*] We did find,—I mean myself and the Council did,—That, if there were need to have greater forces to carry-on this work, it was a most righteous thing to put the charge upon that Party which was the cause of it. [*Yea!*] And if there be any man that hath a face averse to this, I dare pronounce him to be a man against the Interest of England!—Upon this account, upon this ground of necessity; when we saw what game they were upon; and knew individual persons, and of the greatest rank, not a few, engaged in this business (I knew one man that laid down his life for it) [*"Name?" He must go unnamed, this one!*]; and had it by intercepted Letters made as clear as the day;—we did think it our duty To make that class of persons who, as evidently as anything in the world, were in the combination 'of the insurrectionists,' bear their share of the charge. 'Bear their share,' one with another, for the raising of the Forces which were so necessary to defend us against those Designs! And truly if any man be angry at it,—I am plain, and shall use an homely expression: *Let him turn the buckle of his girdle behind him!*[25] If this were to be done again, I would do it.

How the Major-Generals have behaved themselves in that

[24] His Highness suddenly breaks off after new quarry on mention of this Party. The Lord Taaff is even now very busy, at Antwerp (*Thurloe*, v.), with Chancellor Hyde, "throwing up mire and dirt" of the insurrection kind. He was in trouble long ago, at the beginning of the Long Parliament, on the score of the Irish Massacre; sat some time in the Tower (*Clarendon*, ii. 216), with Lord Dillon and others; a generation "who can no more cease from their practices than they can cease to live, nor so easily neither!"

[25] The Proverb is in *Ray;* but without commentary. Various friendly Correspondents, who have found it in Shakspeare (*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act v. Scene 1) and elsewhere, point out to me that the meaning is, 'Let him bring his sword-hilt round, then;' ready for drawing; round to the front, where the 'buckle' of his belt or 'girdle' now is.

work? I hope they are men, as to their persons, of known integrity and fidelity; and men who have freely adventured their blood and lives for that good Cause,—if it 'still' be thought such, and it was well stated, 'this morning,' against all the 'new' humours and fancies of men! — — And truly England doth yet receive one day more of Lengthening-out its tranquillity, by that same service of theirs.[26]— —

Well; your danger is as you have seen. And truly I am sorry it is so great. But I wish it to cause no despondency;—as truly, I think, it will not: for we are Englishmen; that is one good fact. And if God give a Nation the property of valour and courage, it is honour and a mercy 'from Him.' [*Yes, it is a great thing, your Highness!*] And much more 'than English'! Because you all, I hope, are Christian Men, who know Jesus Christ [*Yea!*], and know that Cause which hath been mentioned to you this day.

Having declared to you my sense and knowledge,—pardon me if I say so, my knowledge,—of the condition of these poor Nations, for it hath an influence upon them all, it concerneth them all very palpably; I should be to blame if I did not a little offer to you the Remedies. [*Second head of method: the Remedies.*] I would comprehend them under two considerations. They are both somewhat general. The one is, The Considering all things that may be done, and ought to be done, in order to Security; that is one. And truly the other is a common head, 'a general, nay a universal consideration,'—the other is, Doing all things that ought to be done in order to Reformation: and with that I will close my Discourse. All that hath hitherto been hinted-at was but to give you a sense of the danger; which 'truly' is most material and significant; for which principally you are called hither to advise of the remedies.—I do put them, 'the remedies,' into this twofold method, not but that I think they are scarcely distinct. I do believe, truly, upon serious and deliberate consideration. That a true Reformation, as it may, and will through God's acceptance, and by the endeavours of His poor servants, be,—That that, 'I say,' will be pleasing in His sight; and will prove not only what shall avert the present danger, but be a worthy return for all the blessings and mercies which you have received. So, in my conscience, if I were put to show it, this hour, Where the security of these Nations will lie?—forces, arms, watchings, posts, strength; your being and freedom; be as politic and diligent, and as vigilant

[26] 'that occasion' in orig.

as you can be,—I would say in my conscience, and as before Almighty God I speak it: I think your Reformation, if it be honest and thorough and just, *it* will be your best security! [*Hear him; Hear, hear!*]

First, 'however,' with regard to Security 'outwardly considered.' We will speak a little distinctly to that. ["*Be ye wise as serpents withal!*"] You see where your War is. It is with the Spaniard. You have Peace with all 'other' Nations, or the most of them; Swede, Dane, Dutch. At present, I say, it is well; it is at present so. And so likewise with the Portugal, with France,—the Mediterranean Sea. Both these States; both Christian and Profane; the Mahometan;—you have Peace with them all. Only with Spain you have a difference, you have a War. I pray consider it. Do I come to tell you that I would *tie* you to this War? No. 'According' as you shall find your spirits and reasons grounded in what hath been said, so let you and me join in the prosecution of that War,—'according' as we are satisfied, and as the cause shall appear to our consciences in the sight of the Lord. But if you *can* come to prosecute it, prosecute it vigorously, or don't do it at all!—

Truly I shall speak a very great word,—one may ask a very great question: "*Unde;* Whence shall the means of it come?" Our Nation is overwhelmed in debts! Nevertheless I think it my duty to deal plainly; I shall speak what even Nature teacheth us. If we engage in a business,—a recoiling man may *haply* recover of his enemy: but the wisdom of a man surely will be in the keeping of his ground! Therefore that is what I advise you, That we join together to prosecute it *vigorously.* In the second place, I would advise you to deal effectually,—even *because* there is such a "complication of interests," 'as some keep objecting.' If you believe that there is such a complication of interests,—why, then, in the name of God, that excites you the more to do it! Give me leave to tell you, I do not believe that in any war that ever was in former times, nor in any engagements that you have had with other 'enemies,' this Nation had more obligation upon it to look to itself, —to forbear waste of time, precious time! Needlessly to mind things that are not essential; to be quibbling about words, and comparatively about things of no moment; and in the mean time, —being in such a case as I suppose you know we are,—to suffer ourselves to be wanting to a just defence against the common Enemies abroad, or not to be thoroughly sensible of the Distempers

that are at home [27]— !—I know, perhaps there are many considerations which may teach you, which may incline you, to keep your own hands tender from men of one Religion 'with ourselves,' [28] and of an Interest that is so spread in the Nation. However, if they seek the eradication of the Nation; if they be active as you have seen, and 'as' it hath been made manifest so as not to be denied, to the carrying-on of their Designs; if England must be eradicated by persons complicated with the Spaniard; if this must be brought upon us through distempers and falseness of men among themselves,—then the question is no more than this: Whether any consideration whatsoever shall lead us, for fear of eradicating distempers, to suffer all the honest Interests of this Nation to be eradicated? Therefore, speaking generally of any of their distempers, 'which are' of all sorts,—where a member cannot be cured, the rule is plain, *Ense rescindendum est immedicabile vulnus.* And I think it is of such an advantage that nothing ever could more properly be put in practice [29] since this or any Nation 'first' was.

As to those lesser Distempers of people that pretend Religion, yet which from the whole consideration of Religion, would fall under one of the heads of Reformation,—I had rather put these under this head; [30] and I shall the less speak to it, because you have been so well spoken-to already today 'elsewhere.' I will tell you the truth: Our practice since the last Parliament hath been, To let all this Nation see, that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves;—and *not* to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. Truly we have suffered them, and that cheerfully, so to enjoy their own liberties. Whatsoever is contrary, 'and not peaceable,' let the pretence be never so specious,—if it tend to combination, to interests and factions, we shall not care, by the grace of God, *whom* we meet withal, though never so specious, 'if they be not quiet'! And truly I am against all "liberty of

[27] Original sentence incomplete; or tacked with radical incoherency to the foregoing: the sense, on either hypothesis, is very visible.

[28] Royalists, and other Discontented; Protestants, though Plotters.

[29] 'used' in orig.

[30] Of 'doing all we can for Security;' they will stand better under *this*, thinks his Highness. His Highness half-soliloquising, suddenly bethinking himself, again shows us a glimpse of his Speech in a state of genesis.

conscience" repugnant to *this*. If men will profess,—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment,—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they do plainly continue to be thankful to God, and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences! For, as it was said today, undoubtedly "*this* is the peculiar Interest all this while contended for." [*An excellent "Interest;" very indispensable in a state of genuine Protestantism, which latter has itself for some time been indispensable enough.*]

Men who believe in Jesus Christ—that is the Form that gives being to true religion, 'namely,' to Faith in Christ and walking in a profession answerable to that Faith;—men who believe the remission of sins through the blood of Christ, and free justification by the blood of Christ; who live upon the grace of God: those men who are certain they are so [*Faith of assurance*],—'they' are members of Jesus Christ, and are to Him the apple of His eye. Whoever hath this Faith, let his Form be what it will; he walking peaceably, without prejudice to others under other Forms: —it is a debt due to God and Christ; and He will require it, if that Christian may not enjoy his liberty. [*True Tolerance; a noble thing: Patience, indifference as to the Unessential; liveliest impatience, inexorable* INTOLERANCE *for the Want of the Essential!*]

If a man of one form will be trampling upon the heels of another form; if an Independent, for example, will despise him 'who is' under Baptism, and will revile him, and reproach and provoke him,—I will not suffer it in him. If, on the other side, those of the Anabaptist 'judgment' shall be censuring the Godly Ministers of the Nation who profess under that of Independency; or if those that profess under Presbytery shall be reproaching or speaking evil of them, traducing and censuring of them,—as I would not be willing to see the day when England shall be in the power of the Presbytery to impose upon the consciences of others that profess faith in Christ,—so I will not endure any reproach to them. But God give us hearts and spirits to keep things *equal*. Which, truly I must profess to you, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes 'on the ear,' and rebukes,—on the one hand and on the other; some censuring me for Presbytery; others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach: but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. And truly I must needs say (I speak it experimentally): I have found it, I have, that those

of the Presbyterian judgment—[*"Do themselves partly approve my plan," he means to say; but starting off into broken sentences, as he is liable to do, never says it*]— —I speak it knowingly, as having received from very many Counties—I have had Petitions, and acknowledgments and professions, from whole Counties; as from Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and other Counties. Acknowledgments that they, 'the Presbyterians there,' do but desire they may have liberty and protection in the worshipping of God according to their own judgments; for the purging of their congregations, and the labouring to attain more purity of faith and repentance;—and that, in their outward profession, they will not strain themselves beyond their own line. I have had those Petitions; I have them to show. And I confess I look at that as the blessedest thing which hath been since the adventuring upon this Government, 'or' which these times produce. And I hope I gave them fair and honest answers. And if it shall be found to *be* the Civil Magistrate's real endeavour to keep all professing Christians in this relation to one another; not suffering any to say or do what will justly provoke the others;—I think he that would have more liberty than this, is not worthy of any.

This therefore I think verily, if it may be under consideration for Reformation:—I say, if it please God to give you and me hearts to keep *this* straight, 'it may be a great means' in giving countenance to just Ministers,—[*In such semi-articulate uneasy way does his Highness hustle himself over into the discussion of a new Topic*]— in countenancing a just *maintenance* to them, by Tithes or otherwise. For my part I should think I were very treacherous if I took away Tithes, till I see the Legislative Power settle Maintenance to Ministers another way. But whoever they be that shall contend to destroy Tithes,—it doth as surely cut their 'the Ministers' throats as it is a drift to take Tithes away before another mode of maintenance, or way of preparation towards such, be had. Truly I think all such practices and proceedings should be discountenanced. I have heard it from as gracious a Minister as any is in England; I have had it professed: That it would be a far greater satisfaction to them to have maintenance another way,—if the State will provide it. [*Sensation among the Voluntaries! — —His Highness proceeds no farther in that direction at present. The next sentence suddenly drawing itself up into a heap; comprising both ideas,* "TITHES" *and* "EQUALITY," *and in free-flowing half-articulate manner uttering them both at once, must be given precisely as it stands,—*

Grammar yielding place to something still needfuller, to TRANSPARENCY *of Speech with or without grammar.*]— —Therefore I think, for the keeping of the Church and people of God and professors in their several forms in this liberty,—I think as it, 'this of tithes, or some other maintenance,' hath been a thing that is the root of visible Profession [*No public maintenance, no regular priest*], the upholding of this—I think you will find a blessing in it:—if God keep your hearts to keep things in this posture and balance, which is so honest and so necessary. [*Better keep-up Tithes, till we see!*]

Truly, there might be some other things offered to you, in point of Reformation: a Reformation of Manners, to wit— —But I had forgot one thing which I must remember! It is the Church's work, you know, in some measure: yet give me leave to ask, and I appeal unto your consciences, Whether or no there hath not been an honest care taken for the ejecting of Scandalous Ministers, and for the bringing-in of them that have passed an Approbation? [*Our two Commissions of Triers and Expurgators.*] I dare say, such an Approbation as never passed in England before! And give me leave to say, It hath been with this difference 'from the old practice,' that neither Mr. Parson nor Doctor in the University hath been reckoned stamp enough by those that made these Approbations;—though, I can say too, they have a great esteem for Learning; and look at Grace as most useful when it falls unto men *with* rather than without 'that addition;' and wish, with all their hearts, the flourishing of all those Institutions of Learning, as much as any. I think there hath been a conscience exercised, both by myself and the Ministers, towards them that have been Approved. I may say, such an one, as I truly believe was never known in England, 'in regard to this matter.' And I do verily believe that God hath, for the Ministry, a very great seed in the youth 'now' in the Universities; who instead of studying Books, study their own hearts. I do believe, as God hath made a very great and flourishing seed to that purpose; so this Ministry of England—I think in my very conscience that God will bless and favour it; and hath blessed it, to the gaining of very many souls. It was never so upon the thriving hand since England was, as at this day. Therefore I say, in these things, 'in these arrangements made by us,' which tend to the profession of the Gospel and Public Ministry, 'I think' you will be so far from hindering, that you will further them. And I shall be willing to join with you.

I did hint to you my thoughts about the Reformation of Manners.

And those abuses that are in this Nation through disorder, are a thing which should be much in your hearts. It is that which, I am confident, is a description and character of the Interest you have been engaged against, 'the Cavalier Interest:' the badge and character of countenancing Profaneness, Disorder and Wickedness in all places,—[*A horrible "character," your Highness; not undeserved hitherto: and under* OUR *new Defender of the Faith (if you could see into futurity) what a height of evidence will it rise to!*] —and whatever is most of kin to these, and most agrees with what is Popery, and 'with' the profane Nobility and Gentry of this Nation! In my conscience, it was a shame to be a Christian, within these fifteen, sixteen or seventeen years, in this Nation! Whether "in Cæsar's house," or elsewhere! It was a shame, it was a reproach to a man; and the badge of "Puritan" was put upon it.—We would keep up [*He bethinks him of the above word "profane"*] Nobility and Gentry:—and the way to keep them up is, Not to suffer them to be patronisers or countenancers of debauchery and disorders! And you will hereby be as labourers in that work 'of keeping them up.' And a man may tell as plainly as can be what becomes of us, if we grow indifferent and lukewarm 'in repressing evil,' under I know not what weak pretensions. [*Yes, your Highness; even so,—were you and I in a minority of Two upon it! "Merry Monarchs" of the Nell-Gwynn Defender kind, and the gallantest Sir Charles Sedleys in their tavern-balcony in Bow Street, are and remain a most mournful phenomenon to me; mournfuler than Death;—equal to Death with a Grimaldi-mask clapt on it!*] If it lives in us, therefore; I say, if it be in the general 'heart of the Nation,' it is a thing I am confident our liberty and prosperity depend upon,—Reformation. Make it a shame to see men bold in sin and profaneness, and God will bless you. You will be a blessing to the Nation; and by this, will be more repairers of breaches than by anything in the world. Truly these things do respect the souls of men, and the spirits,—which *are* the men. The mind is the man. If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not, I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast. He hath only some activity to do some more mischief. [*A real "Head of the Church," this "King;" not an imaginary one!*]

There are some things which respect the Estates of men; and there is one general Grievance in the Nation. It is the Law. ["*Hear, hear!*" *from all quarters of the Nation.*] Not that the Laws are a grievance; but there are Laws that are; and the great

grievance lies in the execution and administration. I think I may say it, I have as eminent Judges in this land as have been had, as the Nation has had, for these many years. [*Hale and others; yea!*]—Truly I could be particular, as to the executive part 'of it,' as to the administration 'of the Law;' but that would trouble you. The truth of it is, There are wicked and abominable Laws, which 'it' will be in your power to alter. To hang a man for Six-and-eightpence, and I know not what; to hang for a trifle, and acquit murder,—is in the ministration of the Law, through the ill-framing of it. I have known in my experience abominable murders acquitted. And to see men lose their lives for petty matters: this is a thing God will reckon for. [*Your Highness actually says so, believes so?*] And I wish it may not lie upon this Nation a day longer than you have an opportunity to give a remedy; and I hope I shall cheerfully join with you in it. This hath been a great grief to many honest hearts and conscientious people; and I hope it is in all your hearts to rectify it.

I have little more to say to you, being very weary; and I know you are so 'too.' Truly I did begin with what I thought was 'the means' to carry on this War (if you will carry it on), That we might join together in that vigorously. And I did promise an answer to an objection: "But what will you prosecute it with?" The State is hugely in debt; I believe it comes to —— [*Reporter cannot hear; on his Paper is mere Blank;—nay I think his Highness stutters, does not clearly articulate any sum.*]—The Treasure of the State is run out. We shall not be an enemy to your inspection; but desire it,—that you should inspect the Treasury, and how moneys have been expended. And we are not afraid to look the Nation in the face upon this score. And therefore we will say negatively, *first*, No man can say we have misemployed the Treasures of this Nation, and embezzled it to particular and private uses.

It may be we have not been,—as the world terms it,—so fortunate in all our successes, 'in the issues of all our attempts'? [*Hispaniola was a terrible affair, your Highness; and Jamaica is yet —a load to crush any but a Man of Hope!*] Truly if we are of mind that God may not decide for us in these things, I think we shall be quarrelling with what God 'Himself' will answer 'for.' And we hope we are able,—it may be weakly, I doubt not—to give an answer to God, and to give an answer to every man's conscience in the sight of God, of the reason of things. But we shall tell you, it—["*It*," *the principal "reason" we could give, was the Plotting of*

the Cavaliers; whereat his Highness bursts into sudden spontaneous combustion again!]—was part of that Arch-Fire, which hath been in this your time; wherein there were flames good store, fire enough;—and it will be your wisdom and skill, and God's blessing upon you, to *quench* them both here and elsewhere! I say it again, our endeavours—by those that have been appointed, by those that have been Major-Generals; I can repeat it with comfort, —they have been effectual for the Preservation of your Peace! [*What worlds of old terror, rage and endeavour, all dead now; what continents of extinct fire, of life-volcanoes once blazing, now sunk in eternal darkness, do we discern, with emotion, through this chance crevice in his Highness!*] It hath been more effectual towards the discountenancing of Vice and settling Religion, than anything done these fifty years: I will abide by it, notwithstanding the envy and slander of foolish men! [*Poor Oliver, noble Oliver!*] But I say there was a Design—I confess I speak that to you with a little vehemency—But you had not peace two months together, 'nothing but plot after plot;' I profess I believe it as much as ever I did anything in the world: and how instrumental *they*, 'these Major-Generals,' have been to your peace and for your preservation, by such means,—which, we say, was Necessity! More 'instrumental' than all instituted things in the world!——If you would make laws against whatever things God may please to send, 'laws' to meet everything that may *happen*,—you make a law in the face of God; you tell God you will meet all His dispensations, and will stay things whether He will or no![31] But if you make good laws of Government, that men may know how to obey and to act for Government, they may be laws that have frailty and weakness; ay, and 'yet' good laws to be observed. But if nothing should 'ever' be done but what is "according to Law," the throat of the Nation may be cut while we send for some to make a Law! [*The Tyrant's plea?—Yes, and the true Governor's, my friend; for extremes meet.*] Therefore certainly it is a pitiful beastly notion to think, though it be for ordinary Government to live by law and rule, yet[32]—'if a Government in extraordinary circumstances go

[31] 'Laws against events,' insisted on before, p. 181. The 'event' there could be no law against beforehand, was the universal rising of the cutthroat Cavaliers; a thing not believed-in by the thickskinned, but too well known to his Highness as a terrible verity,—which the thickest skin would have got acquainted with, moreover, had it not been for him! Evidently a most provoking topic.

[32] A small hiatus in the MS. (Burton, p. clxxii), which imagination can easily fill.

beyond the law even for self-preservation, it is' to be clamoured-at, and blottered-at. [*His Highness still extremely animated; wants as if more tongues than one to speak all he feels!*] When matters of Necessity come, then without guilt extraordinary remedies may not be applied? Who can be so pitiful a person!—

I confess, if Necessity be *pretended*, there is so much the more sin. A laying the irregularity of men's actions upon God as if He had sent a Necessity;—who doth indeed send Necessities! But to *anticipate* these—For as to an appeal to God, I own it, 'own this Necessity,' conscientiously to God; and the principles of Nature dictate the thing:—But if there be a *supposition*, I say, of a Necessity which is *not*, every *act* so done hath in it the more sin. This 'whether in a given case, there *is* a Necessity or not,' perhaps is rather to be disputed than otherwise: But I must say I do not know one action 'of this Government,' no not one, but it hath been in order to the peace and safety of the Nation. And the keeping of some in prison [*Lilburn, Wildman, Overton, Grey of Groby, Willoughby of Parham, occasionally Harrison and others: a fair stock of Prisoners up and down!*] hath been upon such clear and just grounds that no man can except against it. I know there are some imprisoned in the Isle of Wight, in Cornwall and elsewhere; and the cause of their imprisonment was, They were all found acting things which tended to the disturbance of the Peace of the Nation. Now these principles made us say to them: "Pray "live quietly in your own countries: you shall not be urged with "bonds or engagements, or to subscribe to the Government." But they would not so much as say, "We will promise to live peaceably." If others are imprisoned, it is because they have done such things. And if other particulars strike,[33] we know what to say,—as having endeavoured to walk as those that would not only give an account to God of their actings in Authority, but had 'withal' to give an account of them to men. [*Anticlimax;—better than some climaxes; full of simplicity and discretion.*]

I confess I have digressed much. [*Yes, your Highness; it has been a very loose-flowing Discourse;—like a big tide on shallow shores, with few banks or barriers!*]—I would not have you be discouraged if you think the State is exceeding poor. Give me leave to tell you, we have managed the Treasury not unthriftily, nor to private uses; but for the use of the Nation and Government;—and shall give you this short account. When the Long Parliament sat,[34]

[33] Means 'give offence.'

[34] Polite for 'ceased to sit.'

this Nation owed 700,000*l.* We examined it; it was brought unto that,—in that short Meeting 'of the Little Parliament,' within half a year after the Government came into our hands. I believe there was *more* rather than less. They 'the Long-Parliament people,' had 120,000*l.* a-month; they had the King's, Queen's, Prince's, Bishops' Lands; all Delinquents' Estates, and the Dean-and-Chapter Lands;—which was a very rich Treasure. As soon as ever we came to the Government, we abated 30,000*l.* the first half-year, and 60,000*l.* after. We had no benefits of those Estates, at all considerable [*Only the merest fractions of them remaining now unsold*]; I do not think, the fiftieth part of what they had:—and give me leave to tell you, *You are not so much in debt as we found you.*[35] We know it hath been maliciously dispersed, as if we had set the Nation into 2,500,000*l.* of debt: but I tell you, you are not so much in debt, by some thousands,—I think I may say, by some hundreds of thousands! This is true that I tell you. We have honestly,—it may be not so wisely as some others would have done,—but with honest and plain hearts, laboured and endeavoured the disposal of Treasure to Public Uses; and laboured to pull off the common charge 60,000*l.* a-month, as you see. And if we had continued that charge that was left upon the Nation, perhaps we could have had as much money 'in hand,' as now we are in debt. —These things being thus, I did think it my duty to give you this account,—though it be wearisome even to yourselves and to me.

Now if I had the tongue of an Angel; if I was so certainly Inspired as the holy Men of God have been, I could rejoice, for your sakes, and for these Nations' sakes, and for the sake of God, and of His Cause which we have all been engaged in, if I could move affections in you to that which, if you do it, will save this Nation! If *not*,—you plunge it, to all human appearance, 'it' and all Interests, yea and all Protestants in the world, into irrecoverable ruin!—

Therefore I pray and beseech you, in the name of Christ, Show yourselves to be men; "quit yourselves like men!" It doth not infer any reproach if you do show yourselves men: *Christian* men, —*which* alone *will* make you "quit yourselves." I do not think that, to this work you have in hand, a neutral spirit will do. That is a Laodicean spirit; and we know what God said of that Church: it was "lukewarm," and therefore He would "spew it out of His

[35] Antea, p. 142.

mouth!" It is not a neutral spirit that is incumbent upon you. And if not a neutral spirit, it is much less a stupefied spirit, inclining you, in the least disposition, the *wrong* way! Men are, in their private consciences, every day making shipwreck; and it's no wonder if these can shake hands with persons of reprobate Interests:—such, give me leave to think, are the Popish Interests. For the Apostle brands them so, "having seared consciences." Though I do not judge every man:—but the ringleaders[36] are such. The Scriptures foretold there should be such. It is not such a spirit that will carry this work on! It is men in a Christian state; who have *works* with *faith;* who know how to lay hold on Christ for remission 'of sins,' till a man be brought to "glory in hope." Such an hope kindled in men's spirits will actuate them to such ends as you are tending to: and so many as are partakers of that, and do own your standings,[37] wherein the Providence of God hath set and called you to this work, 'so many' will carry it on.

If men, through scruple, be opposite, you cannot take them by the hand to *carry* them 'along with you,'—it were absurd: if a man be scrupling the plain truth before him, it is in vain to meddle with him. He hath placed another business in *his* mind; he is saying, "Oh, if we could but exercise wisdom to gain Civil "Liberty,—Religion would follow!" [*His Highness thinks Religion will* PRECEDE,—*as I hope thou also, in a sense, emphatically thinkest. His Highness does not much affect Constitution-builders, Oceana Harringtons, and Members of the Rota Club. Here, however, he has his eye principally upon the late Parliament, with its Constitution-pedantries and parchments.*] Certainly there are such men, who are not *maliciously* blind, whom God, for some cause, exercises. [*Yes, your Highness; we poor Moderns have had whole shoals of them, and still have,—in the later sections of that same "work" you are engaged in.*] It cannot be expected that they should do anything! [*Profound silence.*] These men,—they must demonstrate that they are in bonds.— —Could we have carried it thus far, if we had sat disputing in that manner? I must profess I reckon that difficulty more than all the wrestling with flesh and blood. [*What could so try one as that Pedant Parliament did; disputing, doling-out penny-*

[36] Of the Insurrectionary persons, and the general Miscellany who favour the Popish Interests; it is on these more than on Papists proper that his Highness is now again coming to glance.

[37] Present official positions.

weights of distilled constitution ; and Penruddock, Charles Stuart and the Spaniards waiting momentarily to come in, with Ate and the Scarlet Woman in their rear ?] Doubting, hesitating men, they are not fit for your work. You must not expect that men of hesitating spirits, under the bondage of scruples, will be able to carry-on this work, much less such as are merely carnal, natural; such as having an "outward profession of Godliness," whom the Apostle speaks of so often, "are enemies to the cross of Christ; whose god is their "belly; whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things." [*A really frightful kind of character ;—and not yet obsolete, though its dialect is changed !*] Do you think these men will rise to such a spiritual heat for the Nation as shall carry you a Cause like this; as will meet 'and defy' all the oppositions that the Devil and wicked men can make ? [*Not to* BE *expected, your Highness ; not at all. And yet we, two-hundred years later, how do we go on expecting it,—by the aid of Ballot-boxes, Reform-Club Attorneys, &c. &c. !*]

Give me leave to tell you,—those that are called to this work, it will not depend 'for them' upon formalities, nor notions, nor speeches ! [*A certain truculency on his Highness's visage.*] I do not look the work should be done by these. 'No;' but by men of honest hearts, engaged to God; strengthened by Providence; enlightened in His words, to know His Word,—to which He hath set His Seal, sealed with the blood of His Son, with the blood of His Servants: *that* is such a spirit as will carry on this work. [*Scant in the Pedant Parliament, scant in the Rota Club ; not to be found in the Reform-Club Attorney, or his Ballot-box, at all.*]

Therefore I beseech you, do not dispute of unnecessary and unprofitable things which may divert you from carrying on so glorious a work as this is. I think *every* objection that ariseth is not to be answered; nor have I time for it. I say, Look up to God; have peace among yourselves. Know assuredly that if I have interest,[38] I am by the voice of the People the Supreme Magistrate [*We will have no disputing about that,—you are aware !*]; and, it may be, do know somewhat that might satisfy my conscience, if I stood in doubt ! But it is a union, really it is a union, 'this' between you and me: and both of us united in faith and love to Jesus Christ, and to His peculiar Interest in the world,—*that* must ground this work. And in *that*, if I have any peculiar Interest which is personal to myself, which is not subservient to the Public end,—it were not an extravagant thing for me to *curse* myself:

[38] Means 'if you see me in power.'

because I know God will curse me, if I have! [*Look in that countenance of his Highness!*] I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to be bold with Him, in these things. And I hope I never shall be bold with Him;—though I can be bold with men, if Christ be pleased to assist!—

I say, if there be love between us, so that the Nations[39] may say, "These are knit together in one bond, to promote the glory of "God against the Common Enemy; to suppress everything that is "Evil, and encourage whatsoever is of Godliness,"—yea, the Nation will bless you! And really that and nothing else will work-off these Disaffections from the minds of men; which are great,—perhaps greater than all the 'other' oppositions you can meet with. I do know what I say. When I speak of these things, I speak my heart before God;—and, as I said before, I dare not be bold with Him. I have a little faith: I have a little lived by faith, and therein I may be "bold." If I spoke other than the affections and secrets of my heart, I know He would not bear it at my hands! [*Deep silence; his Highness's voice, in sonorous bass, alone audible in the Painted Chamber.*] Therefore in the fear and name of God: Go on, with love and integrity, against whatever arises of contrary to those ends which you know and have been told of; and the blessing of God go with you,—and the blessing of God *will* go with you! [*Amen!*]

I have but one thing more to say. I know it is troublesome:—But I did read a Psalm yesterday; which truly may not unbecome both me to tell you of, and you to observe. It is the Eighty-fifth Psalm;[40] it is very instructive and significant: and though I do but a little touch upon it, I desire your perusal at pleasure. [*We will many of us read it, this night; almost all of us, with one view or the other;—and some of us may sing a part of it at evening worship.*]

It begins: "Lord, Thou hast been very favourable to Thy Land; "Thou hast brought back the captivity of Jacob. Thou hast "forgiven the iniquity of Thy People; Thou hast covered all their "sin. Thou hast taken away all the fierceness of Thy wrath: Thou "hast turned Thyself from the fierceness of Thine anger. Turn us,

[39] The Three Nations.

[40] Historical: Tuesday, 16th Sept. 1656; Oliver Protector reading the Eighty-fifth Psalm in Whitehall. We too might read it; but as his Highness recites it all here except one short verse, it is not so necessary.

"O God of our salvation, and cause Thine anger toward us to cease. "Wilt Thou be angry with us forever; wilt Thou draw out Thine "anger to all generations? Wilt Thou not revive us again, that "Thy People may rejoice in Thee?" Then he calls upon God as "the God of his salvation,"[41] and then saith he: "I will hear "what God the Lord will speak: for He will speak peace unto His "People, and to His Saints; but let them not turn again to folly. "Surely His Salvation is nigh them that fear Him;" Oh—"that "glory may dwell in our Land! Mercy and Truth are met "together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other. "Truth shall spring out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall "look down from Heaven. Yea the Lord shall give that which "is good, and our Land shall yield her increase. Righteousness "shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps." [*What a vision of celestial hope is this! vista into Lands of Light; God's Will done on Earth; this poor English Earth an Emblem of Heaven; where God's Blessing reigns supreme; where ghastly Falsity and brutal Greed and Baseness, and Cruelty and Cowardice, and Sin and Fear, and all the Hell-dogs of Gehenna shall lie chained under our feet; and Man, august in divine manhood, shall step victorious over them, heavenward, like a god! O Oliver, I could weep,—and yet it steads not. Do not I too look into "Psalms," into a kind of Eternal Psalm, unalterable as adamant,—which the whole world yet will look into? Courage, my brave one!*]

Truly I wish that this Psalm, as it is written in the Book, might be better written in our hearts. That we might say as David, "*Thou* hast done this," and "Thou hast done that;" "Thou hast "pardoned our sins; Thou hast taken away our iniquities"! Whither can we go to a better God? For "He hath done it." It is to Him any Nation may come in their extremity, for the taking away of His wrath. How did He do it? "By pardoning their sins, by taking away their iniquities!" If we can but cry unto Him, He will "turn and take away *our* sins."—Then let us listen to Him. Then let us consult, and meet in Parliament; and ask Him counsel, and hear what He saith, "for He will speak peace unto His People." If you be the People of God, He will speak *peace;*—and we will not turn again to folly.

"Folly:" a great deal of grudging in the Nation that we cannot have our horse-races, cock-fightings, and the like! [*Abolished, suspended, for good reasons!*] I do not think these are lawful,

[41] Verse 7, 'Show us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation.'

except to make them recreations. That we will not endure 'for necessary ends' [*For preventing Royalist Plots, and suchlike*] to be abridged of them:—Till God hath brought us to another spirit than this, He will not bear with us. Ay, "but He bears with them in France;" "they in France are so and so!"—Have they *the Gospel* as we have? They have seen the sun but a little; we have great lights.——If God give you a spirit of Reformation, you will preserve this Nation from "turning again" to those fooleries:—and what will the end be? Comfort and blessing. Then "Mercy and Truth shall meet together." Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy"! They are ready to cut the throats of one another. But when we are brought into the right way, we shall be *merciful* as well as orthodox: and we know who it is that saith, "If a man could speak with the tongues of "men and angels, and yet want *that*, he is but sounding brass and "a tinkling cymbal!"

Therefore I beseech you in the name of God, set your hearts to this 'work.' And if you set your hearts to it, then you will sing Luther's Psalm.[42] That is a rare Psalm for a Christian!—and if he set his heart open, and can approve it to God, we *shall* hear him say, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble." If Pope and Spaniard, and Devil and all, set themselves against us,—though they should "compass us like bees," as it is in the Hundred-and-eighteenth Psalm,—yet in the name of the Lord we should destroy them! And, as it is in this Psalm of Luther's: "We will not fear, though the Earth be

[42] Psalm Forty-sixth; of which Luther's Paraphrase, *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*, is still very celebrated. Here is the original Psalm.

'God is our refuge and strength; a very present help in trouble; therefore 'we will not fear,—though the Earth be removed, and though the mountains 'be carried into the midst of the sea; though the waters roar and be troubled; 'though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof!

'There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God, 'the Holy Place of the Tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of 'her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her, and that right early. The 'Heathen raged, the Kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the Earth 'melted. The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge.

'Come behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the 'Earth! He maketh wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth; He breaketh 'the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the 'fire:—Be still, and know that I am God; I will be exalted among the 'Heathen, I will be exalted in the Earth! The Lord of Hosts is with us: 'the God of Jacob is our refuge.'

"removed, and though the mountains be carried into the middle "of the sea; though the waters thereof roar and be troubled; "though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof." [*A terrible scene indeed:—but there is something in the Heart of Man, then, greater than any "scene;" which, in the Name of the Highest, can defy any "scene" or terror whatsoever? "Yea," answers the Hebrew David; "Yea," answers the German Luther; "Yea," the English Cromwell. The Ages responsive to one another; soul hailing soul across the dead Abysses; deep calling unto deep.*] "There is a "river, the streams whereof shall make glad the City of God. "God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved." [*No!*] Then he repeats two or three times, "The Lord of Hosts is with "us; the God of Jacob is our refuge." [*What are the King of Spain, Charles Stuart, Joseph Wagstaff, Chancellor Hyde, and your triple-hatted Chimera at Rome? What is the Devil in General, for that matter,—the still very extensive Entity called "Devil," with all the force he can raise?*]

I have done. All I have to say is, To pray God that He may bless you with His presence; that He who hath your hearts and mine would show His presence in the midst of us.

I desire you will go together, and choose your Speaker.*

The latest of the Commentators expresses himself in reference to this Speech in the following singular way:

'No Royal Speech like this was ever delivered elsewhere in the world! 'It is,—with all its prudence, and it is very prudent, sagacious, courteous, 'right royal in spirit,—perhaps the most artless transparent piece of 'Public Speaking this Editor has ever studied. Rude, massive, genuine; 'like a block of unbeaten gold. A Speech not so fit for Drury Lane, as 'for Valhalla, and the Sanhedrim of the Gods. The man himself, and 'the England he presided over, there and then, are to a singular degree 'visible in it; open to our eyes, to our sympathies. He who would see 'Oliver, will find more of him here than in most of the history-books yet 'written about him.

'On the whole, the cursory modern Englishman cannot be expected 'to read this Speech:—and yet it is pity; the Speech might do him 'good, if he understood it. We shall not again hear a Supreme Governor 'talk in this strain: the dialect of it is very obsolete; much more than 'the grammar and diction, forever obsolete,—not to my regret the dialect 'of it. But the spirit of it is a thing that should never have grown

* *Burton's Diary*, i., Introd. pp. clviii.-clxxix. (from Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125).

'obsolete. The spirit of it will have to revive itself again; and shine 'out in *new* dialect and vesture, in infinitely wider compass, wide as 'God's known Universe *now* is,—if it please Heaven! Since that spirit 'went obsolete, and men took to "dallying" with the Highest, to "being 'bold" with the Highest, and not "bold with men" (only Belial, and 'not "Christ" in any shape, assisting them), we have had but sorry 'times, in Parliament and out of it. There has not been a Supreme 'Governor worth the meal upon his periwig, in comparison,—since this 'spirit fell obsolete. How could there? Belial is a desperately-bad 'sleeping-partner in any concern whatever! Cant did not ever yet, that 'I know of, turn ultimately to a good account, for any man or thing. 'May the Devil swiftly be compelled to call-in large masses of our current 'stock of Cant, and withdraw it from circulation! Let the people "run 'for gold," as the Chartists say; demand Veracity, Performance, instead 'of mealy-mouthed Speaking; and force him to recall his Cant. Thank 'Heaven, stern Destiny, merciful were it even to death, does now compel 'them verily to "run for gold:" Cant in all directions is swiftly ebbing 'into the Bank *it* was issued by.'—

Speech being ended, the Honourable Members 'went to the House,' says Bulstrode;[43] and in the Lobby, with considerable crowding I think, 'received, from the Chancery Clerk, Certificates in this form,'—for instance:

'County of Bucks. *These are to certify that*' Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke '*is returned by Indenture one of the Knights to serve in this* '*present Parliament for the said County, and approved by his Highness's* '*Council.* Nath. Tayler, *Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery.*'

Mr. Tayler has received Four-hundred 'Indentures' from Honourable Gentlemen; but he does not give out Four-hundred 'Certificates,' he only gives Three-hundred and odd. Near One-hundred Honourable Gentlemen can get no Certificate from Mr. Tayler,—none provided for *you;*—and without Certificate there is no admittance. Soldiers stand ranked at the door; no man enters without his Certificate! Astonishing to see. Haselrig, Scott and the stiff Republicans, Ashley Cooper and the turbulent persons, who might have leavened this Parliament into strange fermentation, cannot, it appears, get in! No admittance here: saw Honourable Gentlemen ever the like?—

The most flagrant violation of the Privileges of Parliament that was ever known! exclaim they. A sore blow to Privilege indeed. With which the Honourable House, shorn of certain limbs in this rude way, knows not well what to do. The Clerk of the Commonwealth, being summoned, answers what he can; Nathaniel Fiennes, for the Council

[43] Whitlocke, p. 639.

of State, answers what he can : the Honourable House, actually intent on Settling the Nation, has to reflect that in real truth this will be a great furtherance thereto ; that matters do stand in an anomalous posture at present ; that the Nation should and must be settled. The Honourable House, with an effort, swallows this injury ; directs the petitioning Excluded Members 'to apply to the Council.'[44] The Excluded Members, or some one Excluded Member, redacts an indignant Protest, with all the names appended ;[45] prints it, privately circulates it, 'in boxes sent by carriers, a thousand copies in a box :'—and there it rests ; his Highness saying nothing to it ; the Honourable House and the Nation saying nothing. In this Parliament, different from the last, we trace a real desire for Settlement.

As the power of the Major-Generals, 'in about two months hence,'[46] or three months hence, was, on hint of his Highness himself, to the joy of Constitutional England, withdrawn, we may here close *Part Ninth*. Note first, however, as contemporary with this event, the glorious news we have from Blake and Montague at sea ; who, in good hour, have at last got hold of a Spanish Fleet, and in a tragic manner burnt it, and taken endless silver therein.[47] News of the fact comes in the beginning of October : in the beginning of November comes, as it were, the fact itself,—some Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of real silver : triumphantly jingling up from Portsmouth, across London pavements to the Tower, to be coined into current English money there. The Antichrist King of Spain has lost Lima by an earthquake, and infinite silver there also. Heaven's vengeance seems awakening. 'Never,' say the old Newspapers,[48] 'never was there a more terrible visible Hand of God in judgment upon 'any People, since the time of Sodom and Gomorrah ! Great is the 'Lord ; marvellous are His doings, and to be had in reverence of all the 'Nations.' England holds universal Thanksgiving Day ; sees Eight-and-thirty wagonloads of silver, sees hope of Settlement, sees Major-Generals abolished ; and piously blesses Heaven.

[44] *Commons Journals*, vii. 424-6 (Sept. 18th-22d).

[45] Copy of it and them in *Whitlocke*, pp. 641-3 ; see also *Thurloe*, v. 456, 490.

[46] Kimber, p. 211. The real date and circumstances may be seen in *Burton's Diary*, i. 310 (7th Jan. 1656-7), *Commons Journals*, vii. 483 (29th Jan.) ; compared with Ludlow, ii. 581-2. See Godwin, iv. 328.

[47] Captain Stayner's Letter (9th Sept. 1656, *Thurloe*, v. 399) ; General Montague's Letter (ib. p. 433) ; Whitlocke, p. 643 ; &c.

[48] 6th October (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 160).

PART X.

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT.

1657—1658.

LETTERS CCXV., CCXVI.

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

To the Mayor of Newcastle: To be communicated to the Aldermen and others whom it doth concern.

Whitehall, 18th December, 1656.

GENTLEMEN, AND MY VERY GOOD FRIENDS,

My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:—'this' shall

be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively 'left to' suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition 'there' expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself "a name and praise amongst all "the people of the earth,"—He "will save her that halteth, and "gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and "fame in every land, where they have been put to shame."[1] And such "lame ones" and "driven-out ones" were not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you;—being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand-by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

[1] Zephaniah, iii. 19, 20. * Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hands.

LETTER CCXVI.

Cardinal Mazarin, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what not: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's:—of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe;*[2] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A Letter unique in two respects. It is the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches;[3] who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which, by a hard necessity, so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this 'our weightiest affair,'—not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present 'on the word of a Christian King!'—

Concerning the 'affair' itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The 'Person' employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. 'Berkley' is the Sir John Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[4] the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of 'Lockhart,' Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others,—let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly,

[2] iv. 506; v. 753; &c. &c.

[3] Three insignificant official Notes to him, in Appendix, Nos. 27, 28.

[4] Antea, vol. i. p. 258.

that their 'affair' is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide:—as accordingly we find it did for many months,[5] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

'*To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.*'

'Whitehall,' 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage 'me' to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.[6]

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, "plucked many out of the fire,"[7]—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have intrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did

[5] Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.

[6] To the Catholics here.

[7] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable *Epistle*, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry-on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,[8] or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with 290[9] were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, 'in regard' to some circumstances, I would.—If I am not mistaken in his 'the Duke's' character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send 'to' your Eminency by Lockhart.

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach 'be' widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it,—I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and 'I' will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am,

Your servant,

OLIVER P.*

[8] His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

[9] Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance Bamfield.

* Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a 'Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex,' says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

SPEECH VI.

SINDERCOMB.

The Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; 'riding among his Highness's escort' in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with 'gate-hinges ready filed through,' if the deed could have been done;—but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, 'on the faith of a Christian King.' Quartermaster Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow;—then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner,—in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quartermaster; has become one of Sexby's people, 'on the faith of a Christian King;' nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope, one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l.*, said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, 'which had a banqueting-room looking into the road;' road very narrow at that part;—road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force,—ancient 'infernal-machines,' in fact,—with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven,—probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l.*, had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has 'a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down:'—set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, 'near the Lord Lambert's seat.' Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire;—finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, 'fit almost to burn through stones,'—with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight!—His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned;—alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, 'wherein his nose was nearly cut off;' bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches:—inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him!—The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

This Parliament, really intent on settling the Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.[2]

[1] Burton, i. 322-3, 355; Official Narrative (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 160, 161); *State-Trials*, v. § Sindercomb.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 481, 484, 493; *Burton's Diary*, i. 369, 377.

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday 23d January 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[3] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply;—rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, 'part of an ancient wooden staircase,' or balustrade of a staircase, 'long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;'[4] and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

MR. SPEAKER,

I confess with much respect, that you have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion:—but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Parliament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which you have now expressed. I speak not this with compliment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That the life that is lengthened may be spent and improved to His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service of you, and those you represent.

I do not know, nor did I think it would be very seasonable for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratulate my mercy; so give me leave, in a very word or two, to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed upon

[3] Burton, ii. 488.

[4] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, and in some respect I also with you. God hath bestowed upon you, and you are in possession of it,—Three Nations, and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geographical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisputably!*] In which also there are places of honour and consideration, not inferior to any in the known world, —without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! [*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But it is a goodly sight, if a man behold it *uno intuitu*. And therefore this is a possession of yours, worthy of congratulation.

This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it is true, —with the best People in the world, possessing so much soil. A People in civil rights,—in respect of their rights and privileges,— very ancient and honourable. And *in* this People, in the midst of this People, 'you have, what is still more precious,' a *People* (I know every one will hear 'and acknowledge' it) that are to God "as the apple of His eye,"—and He says so of them, be they many, or be they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of God; a People under His safety and protection. A People calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You have in the midst of you glorious things.

Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, pretend not to be long rested-in farther than *as* they are conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. Therefore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. [*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavours will be 'made' that way, is another of your good things, with which in my heart 'I think' you are worthily to be congratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting of these Laws in execution.

I do 'also' for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as,—without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for any favour or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an account above flattery, or good words,—such an one as hath excelled itself; and, I am persuaded,—to speak with confidence before the Lord,—is the most growing blessing (one of the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

You have a good Eye 'to watch over you,'—and in that I will share with your good favours. A good God; a God that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and borne His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of men, against those that 'would' have abused such Nations,—such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence of His goodness and presence. And He "hath done things "wonderful amongst us," "by terrible things in righteousness."[5] He hath visited us by "wonderful things"! [*A Time of Miracle; as indeed all "Times" are, your Highness, when there are* MEN *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hangmen with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide,—where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!*]

Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so, give me leave to remember you but one word; which I offered to you with great love and affection the first day of meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better do it than by thinking of such words as these, "His salvation is nigh "them that fear Him," "that glory may dwell in our land"! I

[5] Isaiah, xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

would not comment upon it. I hope I fear Him;—and let us more fear Him! If this 'present' mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth,—let me, and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! [*Amen!*] Then we have done, 'that includes all;' seeing such a blessing as His salvation "is nigh them that fear Him,"—seeing we are all of us representatives of all the good of all these lands, 'to endeavour with our whole strength' "that glory may dwell in our land."

'Yes,' if it be so, "Mercy and Truth shall meet together, Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other." We shall know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dispose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebellious children;—and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons "he did not *hear* well of them," when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore let me say,—though I will not descant upon the words,—that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And truly, Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord' Protector!*] And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace,—you will, if I may be free to say so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.*

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday, his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, "Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed;" the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. 'He 'was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul 'falls *asleep* at death:' [6] a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill, with due ignominy; and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[7]

* *Burton's Diary* (from Lansdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

[6] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

[7] 'Equal to a Roman in virtue,' says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*,

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, 'the 'Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at Margaret's West-'minster, partook of a most princely Entertainment,' by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. 'After dinner his Highness withdrew to 'the Cockpit; and there entertained them with rare music, both of voices 'and instruments, till the evening;'[8] his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them. And now we will speak of something else.

---

which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunky, at an after-period saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell;—has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

[8] Newspapers (in *Burton*, i. 377); *Commons Journals*, vii. 493.

LETTER CCXVII.

KINGSHIP.

This Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or 'hundred Excluded Members' are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be;—but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans,—the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse!—To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunky head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunky. If not the noblest and worshipfulest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying!—

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament;—admit nevertheless that its History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; 'debated whether it should be

debated,' 'put the question whether this question should be put;'—and in a mild way neutralised one another,and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted-down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been 'one Mr. Burton.' It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary;* and this Editor has faithfully read it,—not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton,—let us continue to call him 'Burton,' though that was not his name,—cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without,—that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts 'of an high nature.' And now, by what possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature at all,—mere wearisome *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it;* perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it;—and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*,—who, as we say, is not 'Mr. Burton' at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical!—

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued 'Decimation' or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;[2] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler,—excelling in stupor

[1] Compare the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 588; and again *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which "I" the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the 'Court of Requests,'—a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

[2] *Commons Journals*, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him;—shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated;—in Heaven's name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it "dull." They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature,—by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour, appointed only for the oxen of the gods!—The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[3]

[3] Sentence pronounced, *Commons Journals*, vii. 486-7 (16th Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (ib. 470);—petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 22-29.

LETTER CCXVII.

CONCERNING which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make;—for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words:

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Sir Thomas Widdrington, Speaker of the Parliament: To be communicated to the Parliament.

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler: Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being intrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1656.*

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses;—and, in fact, into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King.—

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of 'the Page of History' this last business has given rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important busi-

* Burton, i. 370; see *Commons Journals*, vii. 475.

nesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere 'feather in a man's cap,' throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire;—not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid Mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted condition;—growing ever more distracted, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[4] which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general—!—But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bisons and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood!—Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire;* and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little

[4] vi. 349-403.

new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday 23d February 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce 'Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,'—leave, namely, to read this Paper 'which has come to his hand,' which is written in the form of a 'Remonstrance from the Parliament' to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority 'that a candle be brought in.' Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Protector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther tomorrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day,—let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.[5] On farther manipulation, this 'Remonstrance' of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name 'Petition and Advice presented to his Highness,' became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has 'a very good resentment of it.' The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday 27th February. 'The Parliament keep a Fast within their 'own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carrying on the work 'of the day; it being preparatory to the great work now on hand of 'Settling the Nation.'[6] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a Hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as 'a scandal to the People of God,' 'hazardous to his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles Stuart,' are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: "That he now specifically hears of this project for the first

[5] *Commons Journals*, vii. 496-7. [6] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

"time,—*he*" (with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there) "has not been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the "Title 'King' need not startle *them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some of "them well know" (what the Historical Public never knew before) "it "was already offered to him, and pressed upon him, by themselves when "this Government was undertaken. That the Title King, a feather in a "hat, is as little valuable to him as to them. But that the fact is, they "and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the "schemes *they* clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Protec- "torate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have all proved "failures;—nay this Parliament itself, which they clamoured for, had "almost proved a failure. That the Nation is tired of Major-Generalcies, "of uncertain arbitrary ways; and really wishes to come to a Settlement. "That actually the original Instrument of Government does need mending "in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon the "arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, may be of real "use: see what they, by their own mere vote and will, I having no "power to check them, have done with James Nayler: may it not be "any one's case, some other day?" That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again.—So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. 'Three Major-Generals,' we find next week, 'have already come round. The House hath gone on with much unity.'[7]

The House, in fact, is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. 'Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor;' so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have, is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess!—Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated Articles;[8] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, is to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

[7] *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above.

[8] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.

SPEECHES VII.—X.

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, 'the House rose at eleven o'clock, and 'Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole House, repaired to his 'Highness at Whitehall,'[1] to present this same Petition and Advice, 'engrossed on vellum,' and with the Title of "King" recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[2] is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur*.

SPEECH VII.

Mr. Speaker,

This Frame of Government which it hath pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me,—truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being of so high and great importance as by your opening of it,[3] and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all that rich treasure of the best people in the world[4] being involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that ever possessed a man in the world.

Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the greatest weight of anything that ever was laid upon a man. And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to desire of you at present, but that you would give me time to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may return to so great a business as this.—

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 516. [2] Burton, i. 397-413.
[3] In this long florid speech.
[4] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world.

I have lived the latter part of my age in,—if I may say so,—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all brought into such a compass that I could take a view of them at once, truly I do not think they would 'so move,' nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me!—And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the weight of what hath lain upon me:—except by looking at the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I have found to be a good pleasure to me.

And should I give any resolution in this 'matter' suddenly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be King*] in such a business as this. It would savour more to be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments of self. And if,—whatsoever the issue of this 'great matter' be,—'my decision in' it have *such* motives in me, have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have intended well in this business; and have had those honest and sincere aims[5] towards the glory of God, the good of His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most, by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim (and such honest ends and purposes I do believe yours now are);—yet if these considerations[6] fall upon a person or persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may be at the end of his work [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness!—A kind of pathos, and much dignity and delicacy in these tones*]; who, to please any of those humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run upon such a rock as this is,[7]—without due consideration,

[5] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, 'which you profess.'

[6] Means 'your choice in regard to such purpose;' speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

[7] 'is,'—or may be: this of the Kingship.

without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received 'from Him' as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] who is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions of the persons [*You*] that have prepared and perfected this work:—'why then,' it would be like a match where a good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed at,—why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I had never been born!—

I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That seeing you have made progress in this Business, and completed the work on your part, I 'on my side' may have some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lusting after things that are not good, shall steer me to give other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thankful,—thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity;—and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consideration on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as speedy an answer to these things as I can.*

SPEECH VIII.

Friday 3d April 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[8]

* *Burton's Diary*, i. 413-16.

[8] *Commons Journals*, vii. 519-20; Burton, i. 417.

My Lords,

I am heartily sorry that I did not make this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; 'the desire' which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday last; and sought of God that I might return such an answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parliament. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion, and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done that which was never done before! And I pray it may not fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is now done as never was put on anything since Christ's time, for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very "Catholic interest" indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is the *next best* God hath given men in this world; and if well cared-for, it is better than any rock to fence men in their other interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, 'or two different things,' I wish my soul may never enter into *their* secrets! [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

These are things I must acknowledge Christian and honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian men and also men of honour,—like yourselves, English men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one;

if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if it did not comprehend these Two ends!—Meanwhile only give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me by another Title than I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that?*]

You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls good, it hath nothing but good in it—according to worldly approbation of[9] sovereign power. You have testified your value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a grateful memory of this in my heart;—and by you I return the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. Whatever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingratitude.—But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Profound silence.*] And as I should reckon it a very great presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one thing in this Paper,—(except 'in' some very few things, the 'new' Instrument, 'this Paper,' bears testimony to itself),—so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

And if the "answer of the tongue," as well as the preparation of the heart, be "from God," I must say my heart and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon this business—[*Sentence breaks down*]—'For' though I could not take notice of

[9] Means 'value for.'

your proceedings therein without breach of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I heard of it in common with others. — —I must say I have been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the way is hedged-up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily !*]

The most I said in commendation of the 'new' Instrument may be retorted on me;—as thus: "Are there such good things pro-"vided for 'in this Instrument;' will you refuse to accept them "because of such an ingredient?" Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, 'for the whole Paper or none of it,' it will not be fit for me to use any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented unto them by you.*

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is grouping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King! Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

SPEECH IX.

Wednesday 8th April 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will 'present reasons to his Highness;' has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

day, 'at three in the afternoon,' walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of 'Reasons,' to present the same.[10] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his 'Reasons,' which are very brief, remain on the Record;[11] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657:

'*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented their Humble 'Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto they have not as yet 'received satisfaction; and the matters contained in that Petition and 'Advice being agreed-upon by the Great Council and Representative of 'the Three Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing 'to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil concern-'ments: They have therefore thought fit

'To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in mind of the 'great obligation which rests upon you in respect of this Advice; and 'again to desire you to give your Assent thereunto.'

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost,—his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:

MR. SPEAKER,

No man can put a greater value than I hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice;—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some [*Malignants there are who have such notions*];—yet doubtless it should be to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we* have laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily acknowledge the weight of authority 'you have' in advising these things.

I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the settlement of the chiefest Interests[12] that can fall into the hearts of men to devise

[10] *Commons Journals*, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421.
[11] Ibid.
[12] 'things' again, in orig.

or endeavour-after. And at such a time, 'too;' when truly, I may think, the nation is big with expectation of something that may add to their 'security of' Being.—I therefore must needs put a very high esteem 'upon,' and have a very reverent opinion of anything that comes from you.

And so I have had of this Instrument:—and, I hope, so I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been,—if I flatter not myself,—from a very honest heart towards the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed the* MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*] We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so!—

Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me think you intended "Advice;" and I should transgress against all reason, should I make any other construction than that you did intend Advice: 'yet'—!—[*Still hesitates, then?*]—I would not lay a burden on my breast but I would consider his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own strength),—I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your "Advice" with my own Infirmities. And truly these will have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him that receives talents[13] to know how he may answer the trust of them. And such a conscience have I had 'in this matter;' and still have; and therefore, when I thought I had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest "Answer" your Highness then had:—can it not grow an Affirmative?*]—and am a person that have been, before and then and since, lifting up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to me! [*Deep silence: Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*]—

Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance from Above. And it may very well require in

[13] Meaning 'charges,' 'offices.'

such a one, so convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the Lord in such an undertaking!—And therefore, to speak very clearly and plainly with you: I had, and I have, my hesitations as to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, your Highness?*] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I shall serve you in my own Unbelief;—and I shall then be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation ever had!

Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel.* I am ready to render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty another way.[14]—I would not urge to you the point of "Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty,—I have borne my witness to it,—Civil and Spiritual! The greatest provision that ever was made have you made, 'for Liberty' to all,—and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me.* The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, and I dare not dissemble. And therefore—!—

They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many things in this 'Instrument of' Government besides that one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be elucidated[15] as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly,—I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of 'this' as my trust and duty, nor 'sufficiently' informed. 'Not persuaded or informed;' and so not actuated 'by a call of *duty*,' as I know you intend I should be,—and as every man in the Nation should be. You have provided for 'every one of' them as a Free Man, as a man that is to act possibly,[16] rationally and conscientiously!—And therefore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than this:

[14] Bound to regard your "Advice;" and yet, in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

[15] 'deserve much information' in orig.

[16] Means 'in a way possible for him;' '*does* possibly' is the phrase in orig.

I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate me to do it; and 'capacitate' yourselves to receive it;—and to do what other things may inform me a little more particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, and which has now been read by you to me.

Truly I hope when 'once' I understand the ground of these things,—the whole being 'meant' neither for your good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation,—there will be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out what[17] may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to you.*

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, 'to receive satisfaction,' —has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;[18] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however, there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon, which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never;—explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, who knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as

[17] 'those things' in orig.

* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).

[18] List in *Commons Journals*, vii. 521; in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351.

Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, "Who shall rouse him up?" O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things!—But in two days time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[19] Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its 'satisfaction to his Highness;' his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness,—which unfortunately are not lost; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted;* in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Note-paper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it,—through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes,—they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea;—but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it!—

[19] Narrative in *Thurloe*, vi. 184-8.

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words, —dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X.

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here—simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then,—the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday 11th April 1657, 'about nine in the morning;' has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats;— and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence, obliged to break-up and become a kind of Utterance in this thickskinned manner:—really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is!—

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage or two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note,—in the abridged lucidified state:[20]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Understands that the Committee is here only to "receive what his Highness has to *offer;* such the letter and purport of "our Instructions; which I now read. [*Reads it.*] Your Highness mentions "'the Government that now is;' seems to hint thereby: The Government "being well now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general "objection, the Committee will give you satisfaction."

[20] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 352.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. Sir, I think both parties of us meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in this great business; and truly that is what I have all the reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have,—in preparing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the honour of Two Conferences;[21] and now sent you again, their kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I perceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the Paper itself, 'quoted by my Lord Whitlocke,' which doth a little warrant that: "To offer such reasons for his satisfaction," &c.—Now, Sir, it's certain the occasion of all this 'Conference' is the Answer I already made; that's the occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, Sir, I doubt whether by your plan——If you will *draw out my reasons from me*, I will offer them to you: but on my own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you will do me the favour—["*To go by "my method," his Highness means; to "offer me* YOUR *Reasons, and "*DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me to* COME *out*"]—I shall take it as a favour, if it please you! I will leave you together to consider your own thoughts of it. [*Motioning to go.*]

LORD WHITLOCKE. "This Committee, being sent to wait upon your "Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the *Parliament's* "reasons for what the Parliament hath done. But any gentleman here "may give for your Highness's satisfaction his own particular apprehen- "sion of them. And if you will be pleased to go in the way you have "propounded, and on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee, "I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you satis- "faction." [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

THE LORD PROTECTOR. If this be so, then I suppose nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath dictated to you?

[21] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches VII. (31st March), IX. (8th April), and VIII. (3d April).

—However, I think it is clearly expressed that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is *as* clear that there must be reasons and arguments which have light and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[22] I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I could not call that "the reason of Parliament." [*Whitlocke, in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.*] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient "reason" is diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some of that "reason"—!—I do very respectfully represent to you that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [*Glancing at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit,—I will not urge it farther upon you,—to proceed in that way, it will be a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, and meet again in the afternoon.

Lord Chief-Justice Glynn,—one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: "The Parliament has sent us to "give all the satisfaction which it is in our understandings to give. "Certainly we will try to proceed according to what method your "Highness finds best for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, "however, is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but "general satisfaction."

The Lord Protector. If you will please to give me leave. [*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, "Petition and Advice,"—that again is a general; it is advice, desires and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say truth, but one thing. Only,

[22] As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

the last time I had the honour to meet the Parliament,[23] I did offer to them that they might put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, 'any or all particulars.' Now, no question I might easily offer something particular for debate, if I thought that would answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we are,—that we may attain the general end, which is Settlement. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the world that it is not more in his heart than in mine!— —I would go into some particulars [*Especially one particular, the Kingship*], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration 'made;' which might well enough let you into the business,—that it might.[24] Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I understood I was the young lady, and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the Parliament, 'which my Lord Whitlocke cites;' whether I even read it or no I cannot tell.—[*Pause*].—If you will have it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection as may occasion some answer, 'and so let us into the business;'—though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I shall very freely submit to you.

GLYNN (with official solemnity). "The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction."

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES,—Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of 'Old Subtlety' Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper,—opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard sagacity,[25] to say: "Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* "may offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatisfaction "be to the alteration of the Government whether in general or in "particular."—So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I am very ready to say, I have no dissatis-

[23] Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

[24] A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

[25] Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden.*

faction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objection to the general 'fact,' That the Parliament hath thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or Government. But you having done it in such way, and rendered me so far an interested party in it by making such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which modesty forbids me to mention*],—I shall be very glad 'to learn,' if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have less to object.[26] I shall be very ready to specify objections, in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better to clear; 'in order' at least to help myself towards a clearer understanding of these things;—for better advantage 'to us all;' for that, I know, is in your hearts as well as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

'And now,' if you please,—As to the *first* of the things [*Kingship*], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, 'if they were now stated to me,' lead us into such objections or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, I shall do it.

Whereupon Lord Whitlocke, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[27]—which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact, the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

"That perhaps the former Instrument of Government having originated "in the way it did, the Parliament considered it would be no worse for

[26] 'shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this,' in orig.

[27] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 355.

"sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such was their reason for "taking it up. 'Their intentions I suppose were' this and that, at some "length. As for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to "the Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of years. "If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some argue, our Instru- "ment has only its own footing to rest upon; but with that of *King*, "'it will ground itself in all the ancient foundations of the Laws of England,'" &c. &c.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS,—old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair,—him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

"'May it please your Highness,' Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! 'Upon "due consideration, you shall find that the whole body of the Law is "carried upon this wheel' of the Chief Magistrate being called King. "Hum—m—m! [*Monotonous humming for ten minutes.*] 'The title of "Protector is not *limited* by any rule of Law that I understand;' the "title of King is. Hum—m—m! King James wanted to change his "Title, and that only from *King of England* to *King of Great Britain;* "and the Parliament could not consent, so jealous were they of new "titles bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! "The Long Parliament once thought of changing its title to *Representa-* "*tive of the People;* but durst not. Hum—m—m! '*Nolumus Leges* "*Angliæ mutari.*' Drum—m—m! '*Vox populi:* it is the voice of the "Three Nations that offers your Highness this Title.' Drum—m—m!" ——Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[28] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I cannot deny but the things that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me into a way of more preparedness, according to the method and way I have conceived for myself, to return some answer. And if it had not been to you a trouble—Surely the business requires, from any man in the world in any case, and much more from me, that there be given to it serious and true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness;—but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call*

[28] *Somers*, vi. 356-7.

and even THINK *themselves "true" are but "feigned in one's own thoughts," after all; from that to "the truth and honesty of heart" is still a great way;—witness many men in most times; witness almost all men in such times as ours.*] That is what I mean by true answers.

I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, having taken some short note of it as I do [*Glancing at his Note-paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon [*Would still fain be off!*]—if it had not been a trouble to you,—to return my answer, upon a little advisement with myself. But seeing you have not thought it convenient to proceed that way,—truly I think I may very well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; as it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther in speaking of these things, I should have made my own short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have made some short reply. And this would have ushered me in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my own objections 'too.' [*An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL. (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all:[29]

LORD BROGHIL. "By an Act already existing (the 11th of Henry "VII.), all persons that obey a '*King de facto*' are to be held guiltless; "not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. Think of this.—And then "'in the 7th and last place,' I observe: The Imperial Crown of this country "and the Pretended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons "divorced may come together again; but if the person divorced be "married to another, there is no chance left of that!"——

[29] *Somers*, p. 363.

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. I have very little to say to you at this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or defer those things [30] that come from the Parliament to the Supreme Magistrate [*He accepts, then?*], if they come in the bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known by that name, and is the Representative of so many people as a Parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland is. I say, this ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will have with me.

In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of the grounds of things—[*Sentence breaks down*]—This is, I say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest man in giving an answer to these things,—according to such insight [31] either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave you. [*Well!*] For I must say, I should be a person very unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still say they do! Only, I must 'also' say, I am in the best way I could be 'in' for information; and I shall gladly receive it.

Here have been divers things spoken by you today, with a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I think the arguments and reasonings that have been used were upon these three heads: [32] *First*, Speaking to the thing simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the positive reasons upon which it stands. Then '*secondly*, Speaking' comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order to show the goodness of it comparatively, 'in comparison with our present title and foundation.' It is alleged to be so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do the work which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things have been said by way of precaution; which are not arguments from

[30] Means 'anything,—the Kingship for one thing.'

[31] 'desire' in orig.: but there is no sense in that.

[32] 'accounts' in orig.

the thing itself, but are considerations drawn from the temper of the English People, what will gratify them, 'and so on;'—which is surely considerable. As also 'some things were said' by way of anticipation of me in my answer; speaking to some objections which others have made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.*]

To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who know somewhat how to answer them,—'to whom they are not strange,' having already in part been suggested to them by the Debates already had.

But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could taken those things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been spoken,—which truly are to be acknowledged as very learnedly spoken,—I hope you will give me a little time to consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that to your consideration.

LORD WHITLOCKE. "Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time."

THE LORD PROTECTOR. On Monday at nine of the clock I will be ready to wait upon you.*

And so, with many bows, *exeunt*.—Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them;—the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: 'The Protector often advised about 'this' of the Kingship 'and other great businesses with the Lord Broghil, 'Pierpoint' (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with 'Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, 'and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together in 'private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He 'would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and laying aside his 'greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351-365.

'would make verses with them,' play at crambo with them, 'and every 'one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a 'candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself;' which was a very high attempt. 'Then he would fall again to his serious and great 'business' of the Kingship; 'and advise with them in those affairs. 'And this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted, and' in part 'followed by him in most of his greatest affairs,'—as well as it deserved to be.[33]

[33] Whitlocke, p. 647.

SPEECHES XI.—XIV.

On Monday April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning,[1] according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks:—addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee.

SPEECH XI.

My Lord,

I think I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account of "myself:" yet that is a business very comprehensive of others;—'comprehending' us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these Three Nations!

I confess I have two things in view. The *first* is, To return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title in the Instrument of Settlement. [*This is the First thing; what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.*] I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said: because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never be well skilled,—and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed 'in speaking of such matters,' or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my 'present' answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of Necessity,—why, then,

[1] at 'eight,' say the *Journals*, vii. 522.

I have no room to answer: for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments.—It was said: "Kingship is not a Title, but an "Office, so interwoven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, "that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and exercised "without 'it,'—partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignor- "ance which the Law hath of any other Title. It knows no "other; neither doth any know another. And, by reciprocation, "—this said Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased to "say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the power and "prerogatives of it; which are by the Law made certain; and the "Law can tell when it [*Kingship*] keeps within compass, and when "it exceeds its limits. And the Law knowing this, the People can "know it also. And the People do love what they know. And it "will neither be *pro salute populi*, nor for our safety, to obtrude "upon the People what they do not nor cannot understand."

It was said also, "That the People have always, by their repre- "sentatives in Parliament, been unwilling to vary Names,—seeing "they love settlement and known names, as was said before." And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to adopt the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," refused it for the same reason. [*Lenthall tries to blush.*]—It was said also, "That the holding to this word doth "strengthen the 'new' Settlement; for hereby there is not anything "*de novo* done, but merely things are revolved into their old "current." It was said, "That it is the security of the Chief "Magistrate, and that it secures all who act under him."—Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to make *any* answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not *of necessity*, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty 'to speak;'

otherwise I am concluded before I speak.—Therefore it will behove me to say what I can, Why these are not *necessary* reasons; why they are not—why *it*[2] is not (I *should* say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds.[3] And when I have said what I can say as to that 'latter point,'—I hope you will *think* a great deal more than I say. [*Not convenient to* SPEAK *everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many "scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit," glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!*]

Truly though Kingship be not a 'mere' Title, but the Name of an Office which runs through the 'whole of the' Law; yet is it not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies. It is a Name of Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, why then I should suppose,—I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own,—but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the Name under which the Supreme Authority acts— [*Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible without speech!*] Why, I say, if it had been those Four or Five Letters, or whatever else it had been—! That signification goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the name. [*Certainly!*] Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I mean the Legislative Power,—in the right of the Legislative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that 'Authority.' And certainly they, 'the primary Legislative Authority,' had the disposal of it, and might have detracted 'from it,' changed 'it:'—and I hope it will be no offence

[2] The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

[3] 'Grounds' originating with myself independently of yours. Is this the 'second' thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the 'first,' when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

to say to you, as the case now stands, "So may you." And if it be so that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [*Is the Kingship expedient?*]

Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question,—which I hope is altogether *out* of the question [*His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner,* "YOU *don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by you or by any creature"!*],—I had rather have any Name from this Parliament than any other Name without it: so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind,—though it be an uncertain way of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.[4] I think we may say it without offence; for I would give none! [*No offence to you, Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do!*]—Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if that be one of your arguments—[" *That:*" *what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King?—His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together, as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases!*]—I hope I may urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly (let us think about other things, 'about the mind of the Nation and suchlike,' what we will), What the Parliament settles is what will run, 'and have currency,' through the Law; and will lead the thread of Government through this Land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account, 'by the same authority.' Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing [*This thing of Kingship*], it is but upon the same account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with consent of the whole,—there is the original of it. And consent of the whole will 'still,' I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all [*The same tailor-metaphor a second time*];—and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong!

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these arguments

[4] Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness,—his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

from the Law are all *not* as of *necessity*, but are to be understood as of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dispose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old,—especially as this individual thing, the Name or Title,—according to the Parliament's appointment. 'Is not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs.' Why then, there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced: otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped! [*His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.*]

There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. [*Thing of the Kingship.*] But I suppose it will 'have to' stand on its expediency—Truly I should have urged one consideration more which I forgot [*Looks over his shoulder in the jungle, and bethinks him!*],—namely, the argument not of reason only, but of *experience*. It is a short one, but it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in the fact of it (under favour) [*A damnable iteration; but too characteristic to be omitted*]: That the Supreme Authority going by *another* Name and under another Title than that of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied-with! [*Long Parliament, called "Keepers of the Liberties of England," found compliance; and now the "Protectorate" finds.*] 'Twice:' under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied-with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, 'on the part of both these Authorities,' was a beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first alteration; and 'at a time' when that 'Kingship' was the Name 'established:' and the new Name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry-on the 'Public' Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon consideration,—if I mistake not,—I believe so, —they, there being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did, I confess, at first, demur a little,—*they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. [*Untwist this extraordinary* WITHE *of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic of Oliver!*] And as for my own part [*My own Protectorate*], I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of *that* change,—though I should be

loath to speak anything vainly,—but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the "Halcyon Days of Peace,"—from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice, and with less of private solicitation, since I came to the Government, as they did in those years so named,—'Halcyon.' I do not think, under favour,—[*His Highness gets more emphatic*]—that the Laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in *double* so many years in all those times 'named' "of Peace"! [*Sentence involving an incurable Irish-bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!*] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.[5]— —And therefore I say, under favour: These two Experiences do manifestly show that it is not a *Title*, though never so interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its free passage, and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing): 'not a Title, no;' and if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this 'of King ever did.' Which is all I have to say upon that head.

And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under a more indifferent consideration:[6] and so I shall arrive 'at the Second thing I had in view,' at some issue of answering for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, or 'intimate any' thought against the Parliament's wisdom in this matter; but 'endeavoureth' really and honestly and plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck with me, and doth yet stick. As truly, and I hinted the other day,[7] it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly give positive grounds for what was to be done, and partly compara-

[5] Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.

[6] 'Other things,' your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

[7] Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

tive grounds; stating the matter as you were then pleased to do,—for which I gave no cause that I know of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those of such a Name as I at present bear, with 'those of' the Protectorship 'to wit.' I say, I hope it will not be understood that I contend for the Name; or for any name, or any thing 'of a merely extraneous nature;' but truly and plainly 'for the substance of the business,'—if I speak as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person under the disposal of the Providence of God,—neither "naming" one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.[8] For I hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody—'much less to the Parliament.' I professed I had not been able,—and I truly profess I have not yet been able,—to give a rule to myself 'in regard to your Proposal.' I would be understood in this. [*Yes, your Highness.* "*That it is not doubt* "*of the Parliament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or post-*"*ponence of one 'name' to another; but doubt as to the substantial* "*expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty as to God's will and* "*monition in regard to it,—that has made and still makes me speak* "*in this uncomfortable, haggling, struggling and wriggling manner.* "*It is no easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such depth!* "*An affair of Courtship morecver, which grows and has to grow by* "*the very handling of it! I would not be misunderstood in this.*"]

I am a man standing in the Place I am in [*Clearly, your Highness*]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil [*Note this*],—which I did see was imminent on the Nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion and disorder, and would necessarily 'have' run into blood; and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake the Place which I now have. [*With tones, with a look of sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver!*] A Place, I say, not so much of doing good,—which a man lawfully *may*, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience,—a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as the case may be (though it is a very tickle case), desire a Place to do good in! [*Window once more into his Highness!* "*Tickle*" *is the old form of* TICKLISH: "*a tickle case indeed,*" *his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does*

[8] The original (*Somers*, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfulest *lenses*, yields at last,—with some slight changes of the points and so forth,—this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

occur,—shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does!] I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I might prevent imminent evil—And therefore I am not contending for one "name" compared with another;—and therefore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used for preferring 'the name' Kingship to Protectorship. For I should almost think any "name" were better than my Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than I am for such business [*Your Highness?—But St. Paul too professed himself "the chief of sinners,"—and has not been altogether thought to "cant" in doing so!*];—and I compliment not, God knows it! But this I should say, That I do think, you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for somewhat that may beget a consistence, 'ought to attend to that;' otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as a Constable 'if you like'! For truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish. [*Hear his Highness!*] And truly this hath been my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, That you yet have peace.

Why now, truly,—if I may advise,—I wish to God you may but be so happy as to keep the peace still![9] If you cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this 'that we are now upon,' I wish to God we may still have peace,—that I do! But the "fruits of righteousness" are shown in "meekness;" a better thing than we are aware of!— —I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such necessity of this Name of King; for the other Names may do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), why I cannot undertake this Name. [*We are now fairly entered upon the Second head of method.*] And truly I must needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. And you will be able to judge of them when I have told you them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and it behoves me to say that I do, "know my calling from the first to

[9] If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

this day." I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me 'therein' as it pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly,—and in a way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, and good men too,—desire to make my instruments help me in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. [*Hear, hear; —a notable piece of History!*] At my first going out into this engagement,[10] I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not.[11] "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and "such kind of fellows; and," said I, "their troops are gentlemen's "sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that "the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to "encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolu- "tion in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of "a spirit: and take it not ill what I say,—I know you will not,— "of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go:—or "else you will be beaten still." I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. [*Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to "unspotted character," "safe courses," &c. &c. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant.—Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, "Here* IS *the America I was telling you of!"*]

[10] enterprise.

[11] A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough;—and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters, "It's no lie," which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

Truly I told him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did so,—'did this somewhat:' and truly I must needs say this to you, 'The result was,'—impute it to what you please,—I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did [*The Ironsides; yea!*]; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. [*Yea!*] And truly this is matter of praise to God:—and it hath some instruction in it, To own men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live within 'rules of' Government, and will be subject to those Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Authority—[*Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here*]—I reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of Satan's wickedness[12]—[*Checks himself*]—Why truly I need not say more than to apply all this[13] 'to the business we have in hand.'

I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; but I must tender this 'my present answer' to you as a thing that sways upon my conscience; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. 'Well;' I tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And I deal plainly and faithfully with you, 'when I say:' I cannot think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, 'Kingship or whatever else,' which would, justly and with cause, grieve *them*. True, they may be troubled *without* cause;—and I must be a slave if I should comply with any such humour as that. [*Leaves the matter open still!*] But I say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest (and I think verily God will bless you for what you have done in that)—[*Sentence broken; try it another way*] —But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good men do

[12] Not 'height of Jotham's wickedness,' as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not 'wicked' at all (Judges, c. 9). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere,—if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16 of *Somers* with p. 385 line 2.

[13] 'this' of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to 'own men who are religious and godly.'

not swallow this Title,—though really it is no part of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parliament shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which they cannot swallow. [*The Young Lady will and she will not!*] If the Nation may be as well provided-for without these things we have been speaking of [*Kingships, &c.*], as, according to my apprehension, it may,—'then' truly I think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to David in another case,[14] "no grief of heart in time coming," that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weakness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the hurries I see some taken with—["*A Standard lifted up," the other day!—We have had to turn the key upon them, in Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere*],—that think their virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think you will be the better able to root-out of this Nation that 'disobedient' spirit and principle,—and to do so is as desirable as anything in this world,—by complying, indulging, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this Cause;—and who *are* faithful, and will oppose all oppositions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Fundamentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil and Gospel Liberties. [*Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!—The moral is: "As my old Ironsides, "men fearing God, proved the successful soldiers; so in all things it is "men fearing God that we must get to enlist with us. Without these "we are lost: with these, if they will be soldiers with us (not noisy "mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, "rational persons that will learn discipline),—we shall, as heretofore, "hope to prevail against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and "'never be beaten at all,' no more than the Ironsides were. See, there-"fore, that you do not disaffect* THEM. *Mount no foolish cockade or "Kingship which can convert* THEM, *rational obedient men, true in "all essential points, into mutineers."*]

I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you—[*Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale,—and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started*]—I must confess I would say—I hope I may not be misunderstood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I say to such an audience:—I say I would

[14] Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel, xxv. 31).

have it understood, That in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, 'mere dissentient individuals,' and a Parliament, 'as to,' Which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way. For the Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever is on my mind to you; as that 'indeed' is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to *them:* and now if I think these objectors to the Kingship[15] are such 'as I describe,' and 'that they' will be such; 'if I think' that they are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme Authority, and the Legislative wheresoever it is,—if, I say, I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the end you may report it to the Parliament. [*Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.*]

I will now say something for *myself.* As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not 'hitherto clear direction'[16]—but as I have the Word of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction; so, truly, if men have been led into dark paths [*As this matter of the Kingship is to me even now; very "dark" and undecidable!*] through the providence and dispensations of God,—why surely it is not to be objected to a man! For who can *love* to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence *sinfully,*—yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases. [*Yes, my brave one!*]

Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this Title of King providentially *de facto:* and that not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion is in

[15] 'they' in orig.

[16] Coagulated Jargon (*Somers,* p. 370) is almost worth looking at here;—never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

the case were it *de novo* to be done. [*Somewhat grim expression of face, your Highness!*] But if it be at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a Name or Title—! Which *de facto* is 'the case.' It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done by the Long Parliament,—that was it.[17] And God hath seemed Providential, 'seemed to appear as a Providence,' not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an Act of Parliament; it hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,[18]—he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them,—they should "hate even the *garments* spotted with the flesh."[19]

I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the Persons and the Family that He blasted the very Title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, to reflect, and see this *done*, this Title laid in the dust,—I confess I can come to no other conclusion. ["*But that God seems to have blasted the very Title;*"—*this, however, is felt to need some qualifying.*] The like of this may make a strong impression upon such weak men as I am;—and perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. [*Hear!*] And I must confess, as the times are,—they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay God knows you had need have a great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look at Settlement!—I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement of the Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love

[17] Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on *was*.

[18] Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. vol. ii. p. 312.

[19] Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon!

and honour I bear you, I am forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do 'what is best for that;'—'and' I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose *any* help [*Help of the Name "King;" help of the scrupulous Anti-King people:—it is a dark case!*] that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I would willingly be a sacrifice [*King, Protector, Constable, or what you like*], that there might be, so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and good understanding between all of you. And,—whatever any man may think,—it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely, I would have you lose nothing [*Not even the Scrupulous*] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be 'found' any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit,—I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this Work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many 'friends,' and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

'I have now no more to say.' The truth is, I did indicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in.[20] I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying-on of this Work. [*There are many angry suspicious persons listening to me, and every word is*

[20] "This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my own "feelings in regard to the Kingship,—after I had proved to you in my first "head that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or *not expedient*. "I am now therefore got to the end of my second head, to my conclusion."

liable to different misunderstandings in every different narrow head !] I say, I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing.*

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: 'till tomorrow at three o'clock [21] let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made-up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to 'declare' himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare,—namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerable question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant,—and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to 'feathers in the hat,' of one sort or the other, my erudite friend!— Of all which he gives hear a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health;—are to come again tomorrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; 'wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber;'—Highness still indisposed, "has got a cold:" Come again tomorrow, Thursday! 'Which,' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, 'did strongly build-up the faith of the Contrariants,'—He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems to be a most incendiary piece;—and painfully adjourn and readjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the Interview does take effect; Six of the Grandees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech,

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 365-371.

[21] *Burton*. ii. 2.

of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness, That, in refusing this Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament.[22] Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty!—Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages of *Somers*,[23] and shall be matter of imagination here. His Highness said, These were weighty arguments; give him till tomorrow to think of them.[24] 'Tomorrow at three: *spero!*' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not one of the Contrariants.

SPEECH XII.

Alas, tomorrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, 'at the old place,' Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday 20th April 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance, and his Highness speaks,—answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

'My Lords,'

I have, as well as I could, considered the arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your conclusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitulating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed I think they were 'mainly' but the same we formerly had, only with some additional inforcements by new instances: and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, which I know is very precious; and unless I were 'to end in being' a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be very unprofitably spent,—so it would. I will say a word or two to that only which I think was new.

'You were pleased to say some things as to the power of Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamentary sanction in this matter.'[25] What comes from the Parliament in the exercise of their Legis-

[22] *Somers*, p. 386. [23] Ibid. vi. 371-387. [24] *Burton*, ii. 5.
[25] Glynn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke (*Somers*, pp. 371-2, 384-6).

lative power, as this Proposal does,—I understand this to be an exercise of the *Legislative* power, and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way 'of Proposal or Conference,' and the way of Bills is of a newer date,—I understand that, I say; but— —[*In short, the Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.*] You said, "that what was done by the Parliament now, and simply "made to hang upon this Legislative power, 'as any Title but that "of King will do,' might seem partly as if it were a thing *ex dono*, "not *de jure;* a thing that had not the same weight, nor the same "strength, as if it bore a reference to 'the general Body of' the "Law that is already in being." I confess there is some argument in that,—that is there! But if the degree of strength will be as good without Parliamentary sanction, 'then'—[*Sentence pauses, never gets started again.*]— —Though *it* too, 'this Title of Kingship,' comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you either provide for the people or else it will never come to them; so in a sense it comes from *you*, it is what *they* cannot otherwise arrive at; therefore in a sense it is *ex dono;* for whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* to this Title, it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise they could not get it 'though theirs'—[*This Sentence also finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.*]— But if you do it simply by your Legislative power—[*Halt again.— In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.*]—The question, "What makes such a thing as this more firm?" is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of your 'or another's' doing of it; there remains always the grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the *acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience to it and accept it! [*Certainly, your Highness; that is worth all the Law-logic in the world!*] And therefore if a thing [*Like this Protectorate, according to your argument,—not altogether to mine*] hath but, for its root, your Legislative sanction— —If I may put a "But" to it, 'to that most valid sanction!' I will not do so: for I say, It is as good a foundation as that other, 'which you ascribe to the Kingship, howsoever "grounded in the body of Law."' And if that thing, 'that Protectorate,' be as well accepted, and the other be less well—? Why, then truly *it*, I shall think, is the better;—and then all that I say is founded upon Law too!—

Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the Law; the Law knows,—the People know it, and are likelier to receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that have [*"had" is truer, but less polite*] been used already; and truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we found them and left them already;—except, truly, this 'one point.' It hath been said to me [*Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours to smile in response*] that I am a person who meditate to do what never any that were actually Kings of England did: "Refuse the Advice of Parliament." I confess, that runs deep enough, 'that runs' to all; that may be accounted a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment against me another time,—if my case be not different from any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Government of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright,—or if owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them would have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and 'with' the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argument, to *them*, might be very strong, Why they should not refuse what the Parliament offered! But 'as for me,' I have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented with you 'in saying' I have not desired, I have no title to, the Government of these Nations. 'No title,' but what was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must needs—[*Have gone you know whither!*]—I say we had been all 'topsy-turvying now' at the rate of the Printed Book 'you have just got hold of' [*Shoreditch* STANDARD SET UP, *and Painted Lion there*], and at the rate of those men that have been seized going into arms,—if that expedient had not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament,—it being 'put' upon me to take the power into my hand after the Assembly of Men that was called together had been dissolved— —[*"I took it, as you all know:" but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes*]—!—

Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book:—for the Book, I am told, knows an Author [*Harrison, they say, is Author*]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity undertake that 'Business,' which I think no man but myself would have undertaken,—it hath pleased God that I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation to this day. And have kept it under a Title [*Protector*] which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's use,—to a better use; 'a Title' which may improve it to a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the continuance of my power or place either under one Title or another,—that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the Parliament could find where to place things so as they might save this Nation and the Interests of it,—the Interest of the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest men,—for such a character I reckon them by, who live in the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency 'of Christ' and a Christian course in their life and conversation—[*Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present, but will gather itself together again perhaps!*] I reckon *that* proceeds from Faith, and 'from' looking to our duties towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation are of:—and 'I' do look upon that as a standing truth of the Gospel; and whoso lives up to that is a Godly Man in my apprehension! [*Looks somewhat animated.*]— — And therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament,—I speak not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God,—if the wisdom of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments of men as Englishmen [*Voice risen into a kind of recitative*],—I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, that things might have run in such a current! [*Your Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in the grave!—His Highness fetches a deep breath.*]—I say I have no pretensions to things for myself; to ask this or that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the world may quickly pass upon me, 'and are already passing:' but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is laid upon me,—I mean the weight of reproach and contempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [*Ends, I think, in a kind of snort,—and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.*]—

I have not offered you any Name in competition with Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which the Laws know not, and which is boundless, and is one under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your thoughts to offer any Name of that kind, I think, whatsoever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I wish it were come to that, That no favour should be showed to me; but that the good of these Nations should be consulted;—as 'indeed' I am confident it will be by you in whatsoever you do.—But I may say a word to another thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my duty 'to accept this Title.' I think it can be no man's duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; 'conscious' that he perhaps is not able to encounter with it,—although he may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the Government of the Nations without a legal consent,—as I say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity, 'but have no call now to do again.' And I promise I shall think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very comprehensible at this stage of the business. I think we have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and for other Interests!—[*Checks himself.*]—

You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a 'desultory' way as this. I may be borne withal, because I have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon me these three or four days,—I have not, I say. [*Besides, your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I doubt still somewhat feverish!*] —I have told you my thoughts, and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what since (as I say) lies upon my heart,—'speaking to you' out of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me. [*His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and staggering like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.*] And therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I having told you, the last time we

met, that the satisfaction from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me of my duty,—I have thought rather to answer today by telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [*Poor Sovereign Man!*]—

And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest to the Nation,—and shall be, by the Grace of God. And I have it *not* in view, upon collateral pretences, 'either by asking this Kingship or by refusing it'—to act towards things that may be destructive to the liberties of this Nation! ["*I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the hands of the potter!*"]— —Any man may give me leave *to die;* every one may give me leave to be as a dead man,—when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that are necessary for the carrying-on of such a work! [*Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!*]

And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they were, and as we had them; and will let you know that I have looked a little upon the Paper [*Petition and Advice*], the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, 'unconnected with this of the Kingship.' And considering that there are very many particulars in this Instrument [*Holding it in his hand*], some of a general reference and others specific, and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided as it may) to the concernment of the Nations,—I think I may desire that those 'particulars' may be really such as will serve their object,—let the "Title" we *fix* upon be one or the other. They might be such as the People have no cause—[*Sentence checking itself*]—But I am confident your care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition to that!—I say, reading in your Order, the Order of the Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of "divers particulars," concerning which, if I do make any scruple of them, I am to have the freedom with this Committee to cast[26] my doubts.

The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands[27] that doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. Therefore I shall desire that you will read them. [*Hands Whitlocke the Paper.*] I should

[26] canvass, shake out.

[27] A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; 'unhappily altogether lost now,' say the *Parliamentary History* and the Editor of *Burton*,—not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

desire, if it please you, the liberty,—which I submit to your judgment whether you think I have or no,—that I might tender these few things; and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can :—they are too large here, 'these in the Paper are diffuse.'[28] And if it please you, Tomorrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be for the glory of God, and for the good of these Nations.*

So much for Monday the 20th;—noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till tomorrow at three.

We returned 'much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech,' says the Writer of *Burton;* it is 'as dark and promiscuous as before;' nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the 'Contrariants' are up in hope, and sometimes again we,[29]—and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz!—Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war-ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself,—and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war-frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it,—mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like;

[28] He gave them the complete Paper *on the morrow* (*Burton*, ii. 7).

* *Somers*, vi. 387-389.

[29] See *Burton*, ii. 7 et seqq.

—silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.[30] It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruise of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.[31]

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, 'furnished with new red coats' and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,[32] to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings.—But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet tomorrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII.

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the 'essentials' of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. 'Nothing but a dark speech,' says he,[33] 'more promiscuous than before!'—A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in;—explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash;—and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to these essential things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-

[30] *Heath's Chronicle*, pp. 720-1.

[31] 7th August 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (*Biog. Brit.* in voce).

[32] Signed 23d March 1656-7 (*Godwin*, iv. 540).

[33] *Burton*, ii. 7.

judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and suchlike frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren,—to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do.—Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

My Lords,

I think you may well remember what the issue was of the last Conference I had with you 'yesterday,' and what the stick[34] then was. I confess I took liberty 'at that time,' from the Order of Parliament; whereby they gave me power to speak with you about those things that were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you have been pleased to speak with me 'upon;' that I might confer with you about those particulars, and might receive satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands of God. That is a great secret;—and secrets belong to God. To us belong things revealed;—and such things are the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and 'the course is,' so far as they may have relation to me, That you and I shall consider what may be for the public good 'therein,' that so they may receive such an impression[35] as can humanly be given them.

I would be well understood in that I say, The former Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order of Commitment, 'your Order to Committee,' doth as well reach to the particulars contained in the Instrument 'generally' as to that of the Title,—I did offer to you that I should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so we may come to an understanding one with another, not What the things in their parts are, but What is in the whole conduceable to that end we ought all to aim at,—which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when they did me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a very considerable representation of the Parliament: I am hugely taken with the word *Settlement;* with the thing, and with the notion of it. 'And indeed' I think he is not worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do my part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out

[34] stop. [35] impulse and decision.

of the Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and unhappiness of a Nation to be without such: it is like a house (and so much worse than a "house") divided against itself; it "cannot stand" without Settlement!—And therefore I hope, so far, we are all at a good point; and the spirit of the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is so far at a good point: we are all contending for *a* Settlement. That is sure. But the question is, *De modo*, and Of those things 'and conditions' that will make it a good Settlement if possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think this 'present proposed Form of Settlement' doth tend to the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have 'all along' declared for; and I would come upon that issue with all men, or with any man. The things we have declared for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling and fighting all along,—the securing of these is what will accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is justly his! I think these two things make up Settlement. I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of blood, to attain that end.

I may tell you my 'own' experience in this business, and offend no good man who loves the Public before what is personal. Truly I shall, a little, shortly recapitulate to you what my observations and endeavours and interest have been to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested in transactions all along[36] will blame me. And he shall have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such),—though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, to be willing to be 'reckoned' innocent where I am so! And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to discharge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs;—and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you [*No, your Highness; let it stand on its own feet*];—but must exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to that

[36] Not polite to add, "as I have been."

'issue' [*Not the "Chronology," but what the Chronology will help to teach us!*] I say, is really all our business at present; and the business of this Nation: To come upon clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God, how He hath led us hitherunto.

After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the determination and decision that was there by the hand of God,—for other War, we have had none that deserves the name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone September 'last;'—I came up to the Parliament that then was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very 'well' disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions which had been in the Nation; and I rejoiced at it. And though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs, having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing verily that all the blood which had been shed, and all the distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which in some sense God had raised among us,—'believing, I say,' that surely Fighting was not the *end*, but the *means*, which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that men might come to some consistencies. And to that end I did endeavour to add my mite,—which was no more than the interest any one member there might have,—after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did,—I shall tell you no fable, but things 'of' which divers persons here can tell whether they be true or no [*Threatening to blaze up again?*],—I did endeavour it. I would make the best interpretation of all that: but yet it is a truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, having done these memorable things—[*Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parliament,—preparatory to* EXECUTION]—They had done things of honour, and things of necessity; things which, if at this day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good manner, beholden to that Parliament 'for.' But yet truly as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, so it was with them. And truly, when they had made preparations which might have led to the issuing in some good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of

liberty, in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from hazard of our religion,—To throw it all away upon men who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon a Civil account—[" *Royalist Malignants, in* 1647, 1648, *and Crypto-Royalists; with "their 'notions' that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was "indispensablest? That would never have done! The Long Parlia-"ment did need a Pride's Purge; could not"—But the Sentence here, in its hasty impatience, as is usual, bursts*]—Why, they had more enemies than friends, 'that Long Parliament had;' they had so all along! And this made them careful [*In* 1648, *trying to bargain with Charles, they were "full of care;" and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!*],—upon principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they did think that it was not fit for them presently to go and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that perhaps had no heart nor principle 'in common' with them to accomplish the end *they* had aimed at. [*In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.*]

I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon that Act.[37] An Act which was justly enough obtained, and necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the King. But though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! Which was certainly the true way of doing,—in subserviency to the bringing-in of what might be a good and honest Settlement to the Nation.—I must say to you that I found them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were not so;—I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had converse with, were not for continuing; but the major part, I think, did overrule in-that they would have continued. This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been accomplished by this medium, 'They were' to have sent into the country to have got their

[37] Act, 10th May 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise,—not even money could be had otherwise (antea, vol. i. p. 108).

number reinforced, and the Parliament filled up by new elections. And it had this excuse, That it would not be against the Liberty of the People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into rule and government; because as men died out of the House, so they should be supplied again. [*Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of the Rump.*] And this was the best answer they could give to all objections, 'this,' "That the proper "way to govern is to have *successive* men in such great bodies as "Parliaments; to have men learning to know how to obey as well "as how to govern." [38] And truly the expedient they then offered was what I tell you.

The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor men [*Certain insignificant individuals,—mentioned elsewhere by the same name!*], who thought they had ventured their lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! And the rather, because really they had been invited out, 'first of all, into this War,' upon principles of honesty, conscience and religion; "for Spiritual Liberties;" as many as would come. 'Yes;' when the Cause was a little doubtful, there had issued forth a Declaration 'of that purport,' which was very inviting; and men did come in 'and enlist' upon that invitation;—and did thereby think themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives and children in the Nation, and 'who' therefore might a little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of the Business! [*They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn as our first duty to obey; but we answered (and it was intrinsically a fact), We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!*]

And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps over-pressed 'by us,' That a period might be put, and some ascertainment made, and a time fixed,—why then truly the extreme ran another way. '*Parliament would not go at all*, that had been the one 'extreme; *Parliament shall go straightway*, that was now the 'other.' This is very true that I tell you; although it shame me. 'Extremes give rise to their opposite extremes; and are honourable to nobody!' I do not say it shames all that were of the House,

[38] The 'Rota *Club*' (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat;—not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

for I know all were not of that mind; but truly when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another extreme. And what was that? Why, truly, then it was: Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet *a* Parliament might always be sitting. And to that end there was a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; that as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another might leap in.[39] When we saw this, truly we thought it did but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the thing!—However, it was pursued with such heat 'in the House,' I dare say there was more progress in it in a month than had ever been with the like business in four; 'so eager were they' to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parliament brought in:—to bring the state of the Nation into this, *A continual sitting of Parliament.*

We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it still, That that had been, according to the old foolish proverb, "out of the frying-pan into the fire!" For, looking at the Government you would then have had, it was 'still' a "Commonwealth's" Government. [*Not entirely the Ideal of a Government, your Highness thinks?*] Why, we should have had fine work then! We should have had a Council of State, and a Parliament of Four-hundred men, executing arbitrary government [*As the Long Parliament did*] without intermission, except some change of a part of them; one Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to leap in! —Truly I did think, and I do think, however much some are enamoured with that kind of Government—[*Style getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks*]— —Why it was no more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take 'all' upon them, and be instead of the Courts at Westminster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can neither come to prove nor to defend,—nor to

[39] This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good 'Issue of the Business.' It leads almost infallibly to 'arbitrariness,' argues his Highness (Speech III., vol. iii. p. 9), leads to &c. &c.—in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to 'Nothing,' to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable *Zero*. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that 'a Parliament always sitting' was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.

know his judges; because there are one set of men who judge him today, and another set of men tomorrow! Thus was to have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that it was an ill way of "judging." For I may say to you, with truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,—it did prove so. An outcry here in this place, 'then an outcry there in that,' to get some cause determined and judged. [*The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings, and Babel outbabbled!*] And Committees erected to fetch men from the extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Committees 'set' to determine all things. And without any manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never such right or never such wrong, he must come,—and he must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was the case [*Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance here!*], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, Take all that was in the practices there—[*Better not, your Highness!*],—I am sorry to tell the story of it!—Though there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A necessity for some Committees to look to Indemnity, 'and suchlike;' but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of Justice! However, so it was; and this was the case of the People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had come and said, "What rules do you judge by?"—"Why, "we have none! We are supreme, 'we,' in Legislature and in "Judicature!"—

Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, 'this that they proposed.' [*This of a Perpetual Parliament,* NEW-DARNED, *like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings:—a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it the exclusive one!*] And it will always be so when and whensoever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legislative and Executive Powers are always the same.—Truly I think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and Judges too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; and

I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty that we might have a Settlement. And there is our "Settlement;" that is what they propose for a Settlement!—

It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of any else, to choose a certain number of men [*The Puritan Notables; ah yes!*] to settle the Nation: "This," said we, "is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For, give me leave, if any body now have the face to say,—and I would die upon this—[*Sentence catching fire*]—if any man in England have the impudence [*Ah!*] or face to say, That the reluctance of the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the People,—which was then the business *we* opposed: if any man have the face to say this *now,* who did *then* judge it, 'that last measure of theirs,' and I will say more, ought then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole Cause we had fought for,—which it was,—I would look upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a man![40] I do not say there is any such here: but if any such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him, and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare die for it, 'he is an hypocrite;'—knowing the spirit that hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not?—"Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government."—Why, what is it you want me to do?—"Pray, turn those Gentlemen 'of the Long Parliament' all in "again; then we will like you exceedingly well!"—[*Inarticulate interjection; snort or "Humph!"*]—I was a child in swaddling clouts![41] I cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I

[40] A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery countenance of yours!—His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: "They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:"—*They?* while *we* opposed that: and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

[41] So tied-up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do 'arbitrary government.'

cannot do anything but in coördination with the Council. They fear, 'these objectors,' "arbitrary government" by *me* in that way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general 'by reinstatement of the Long Parliament,' then they are not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man that hath truth or honesty in him?— —

Truly that was our case:—and finding our case to be thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had loved this Cause, and the liberties of England, and the interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce, and lie at *their* 'the Worthy Persons's' feet; but that to be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, though but for three years 'each,' we had experience of that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give satisfaction to honest and sober men!—Why, truly this might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. And therefore we did think that it was the greatest of dangers, 'thus' to be overwhelmed, and brought under a slavery by our own consent, and "Iniquity to become a Law."[42] And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of Parliaments to the last Clause [*Hear!*]; and were resolved to pass it as a Bill in Paper, 'not even engrossed on Parchment as the wont was,' rather than comply with any expedient. [*We then entered upon them; bade them with emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!*]—If your own experience add anything to you in this, 'if you ever individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Committee, and know its ways,'—in this point, "Whether or no, in cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament "assume an absolute power, without any control, to determine the "interests of men in property and liberty; whether or no *this* be desirable in a Nation?"—if you have any sense ["*General openness*

[42] 'The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*' (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfulest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days,—if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law *is* Equity, and the mere want of 'Law,' with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written-over in bad English, is Iniquity.—O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in,—or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

of perception;" not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees: "any sense"],—as I believe you have,—you have more than I,— —'then' I think you will take it for a mercy that *that* did not befall England at that time! And that is all I will say of it.

Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own weakness and folly. [*The Little Parliament.*] And yet it was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and though some of my companions —[*"May dislike my mentioning the story?"—The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to* END.]—And truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that should not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I say, It was thought then that men of our own judgment, who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon that account;—'it was thought,' "Why surely these "men will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever "can be desired!" And truly we did think, and I did think so,—the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were chosen [*The Little Parliament;—Convention of the Puritan Notables*]; and did proceed to action. And truly this was the naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. [*Poor Puritan Notables!*]

What the issue of that Meeting would have been 'seemed questionable,' and was feared: upon which the sober men of that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my power as far as they could,—they did actually the greater part of them,—into my hands; professing and believing that the issue of that Meeting would have been The subversion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the confusion of all things. 'Confusion of all things!' To set up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations; to have had administered the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text this way or that—!—And if you do not believe that these Persons, 'thereupon sent home,' were sent home by the major part 'of themselves,' who were judicious and sober and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this account), and with my consent *a parte post*,—you will believe nothing! [*Somewhat tart.*] For the persons that led in that Meeting were Mr. Feak and his Assemblage in Blackfriars. [*We know "Feak," and other foul chimneys on fire, from of old!—As for "Mr. Squib," he sits now with Venner and the Fifth-*

Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.] 'Mr. Feak,' Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in that House 'of Parliament' day by day. And this was so *de facto;* I know it to be true. And that such must naturally be the product of it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other day [*"Standard set up"*], That all Magistracy and Ministry is Anti-christian, wherefore all these things ought to be abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue of that Meeting. [*A failure, that poor Convention of the Puritan Notables!*]

So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, which would have swallowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in the world: To have had Five or Six hundred "Friends,"[43] with *their* friends, 'the Feaks &c.,' intrusted with the judgment of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking that "the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers in the Nation" hath all the power *they* ever had, both Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And the *other* evil—[*His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir*]—merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up all again in another extreme,—'no stated Ministry being allowed.' All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to God for, 'of no account'! Truly we think we ought to value *this* Interest above all the interests in the world: but if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former, I understand nothing.—

And having told you these two things, 'two Failures in getting Settlement'—truly it makes me in love with this Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions I have now to tender you thereto; and with *Settlement* above all things in the world!—Except 'only' that, where I left you last time [*"The Kingship!" Committee of Ninety-nine look alert*];—for that, I think, we have debated. [*Look dumpish again.*] I have heard your mind, and you have heard mine 'as to that;' I have told you my heart and

[43] The name of Quakers already budding in 1653,—now, in 1657, budded and blown.

judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [*His Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.*]

I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard to our Footing and that of the Government which called this Parliament. [*No: our First foolish Parliament spent all their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends.*] Our Footing and Government is, till there be an end put to it,—that that hath existence! [*What other definition of it can be given, or need?*] And so I shall say nothing to *it*. If it accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do,—I would we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not, I would we might have a better!—Which [44] truly I do come out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it,—if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may!—I say, the things that are provided for in this 'Act of' Government [*Handling the Vellum*] do secure the Liberties of the People of God so as they never before had them! And he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever had the like Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure;—de jure* from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of the world to this day, and have it still,—but asserted by a *jus humanum* I say, they never had it so as they have it now. I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of God, and 'for the Liberty' of the Nation. And I say he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom and ignorance, to think they are *in*consistent. Certainly they may consist! And, I speak my conscience of this 'Act of' Government, I think you have made them to consist.

And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, you have provided well,—that you have. And because I see the Rule of the Parliament, 'your written Order here,' gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I judge the Parliament doth think that any Member it has is not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of additional good),—therefore, I having a little surveyed the Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that account. [*Handles a Paper of his own.*] And truly I must needs say and think that, in such a case as this, where so new a work and so strange a work as this is before you, it will not be thought ill [*Not at all, your Highness,—only get on!*] if I do with a

[44] Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means 'On which hint.'

little earnestness press you for some explanations in some things. 'A few explanations' that may help to complete the business, and leave me—(for it is only handled with *me* 'and for *my* behoof' at this time, not with you and the Parliament whom you represent):—I say, I would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this Nation to the uttermost advantage for it;—in all the things I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall take the freedom to read them to you.

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,[45] that they also may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

'*Article Fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with describing 'who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eligibles,—or rather who 'not; for it is understood that, except the classes of persons here speci-'fied, all who had such a privilege by the old Laws are still entitled to 'vote and to be voted for.

'The Classes excluded from electing or being elected are the fol-'lowing:

'1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ireland; or who, 'with or without concern in said Rebellion, are or shall become Papists. '—All who have advised, abetted or assisted in any War against the 'Parliament since the First of January 1641-2,—unless they have since 'given signal proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament, '—or in some other "signal" manner, difficult to define. The defining 'of which has occasioned great debates in Parliament.[46] This excludes 'all the English and other Malignants.—All who have ever been engaged 'in any Plot against the Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, 'have been engaged in any Insurrection in England or Wales "since '16th December 1653," beginning of the Protectorate.

'2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the Parliament of 'England or the Parliament of Scotland before the First of April 1648. 'This excludes the Montrose Party and Royalists Proper of Scotland,— 'except such as have given "signal" &c. But then follows this clause 'in favour of the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester 'people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the present

[45] Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.; *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 129 et seqq.
[46] *Burton's Diary.*

'Discourse: "Nor any" (shall elect or be elected) "who *since* the First 'of April 1648 have been in arms, or otherwise aided, abetted" &c. '(which excludes all the Preston, and all the Dunbar and Worcester 'people; with, however, a most *important* exception)—"except such 'as since the First day of March 1651-2 have *lived peaceably*,"—as they 'might *all* very well do, having been all smashed to powder six months 'before, at Worcester Fight, and their "Chief Malignant," whom they 'had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, somewhat in the 'style of a King of the Gipsies!' His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one 'proviso for Ireland' to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns,—nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth:]

In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have something that respects the calling of Members to Parliament 'for Scotland.' You would not have those excluded that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.[47] Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should exclude all 'such,' you would have no Members from that Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will be ready to give a better testimony of their country than admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument: but if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own country upon better 'defined' crimes; you should hold them off upon stricter characters 'than those given'! It is thought, the qualification there which saith, of their "good testimony," That they are to be men who have given good testimony by their quiet living —Why, truly, for divers years, they have not been willing to do other; they have not had an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live quietly! [*Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!*] Though perhaps 'at bottom' many of them have been the same men:—and yet 'certainly too' I know many of them are good men, worthy men.—And therefore whether it be not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put some other character[48] upon what may really be regarded as "a good testimony" of their

[47] Which met its due at Preston.

[48] description.

being otherwise minded, of their *being* now of another judgment? I confess I have not anything here to supply this defect with: but certainly if the description so stand as it now is in your Article,—those men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain so, yet if they have "lived peaceably," where they could neither will nor choose 'to live otherwise,' they are to be admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amendment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with yourselves. This is for the Second Paragraph.

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is "without any amendment" of his own; offers us nothing to "supply the defect:" indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph Second remains *un*altered.—And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:

'*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland, "that no 'English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before the First of March '1649-50" (just about the time his now Highness, then Lord General, 'was quitting Ireland, having entirely demolished all chance of opposition 'there) "have borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or 'otherwise given signal testimony" &c. "shall be excluded."' This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it is said, "That all persons in Ireland be made capable to elect or to be "elected who, before the First of March 1649, have borne arms "for the Parliament, or otherwise given testimony of their good "affections to the Parliament and continued faithful *to the Par-*"*liament:*"—and yet perhaps many of them are since revolted 'against us'!—Whether it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Parliament;[49] if they have borne arms for the State before the First of March 1649, it seems to restore them. But if *since* then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those men who lately[50] have been angry and have flown to arms; Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give an answer unto?

[49] The Ormond Royalists almost all;—Malignant enough many of them.

[50] in late years.

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: 'Signal 'testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth or your Highness*, '*and continued*' *&c.*—And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

'*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, blasphemous, '"married to Popish wives," who train or shall train any child to be 'Popish, or consent that a son or daughter of theirs shall marry a Papist; '—who are scoffers of religion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one 'for being religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who 'deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances of God '(Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, haunters of taverns 'or alehouses;—in short demonstrably unchristian men. All who are 'Public Preachers too.' Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

'Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Paragraph, is a 'new Item which still more deserves consideration. For securing the '"Freedom of Parliament" as well as its Purity, there are to be Forty-one 'Commissioners appointed "by Act of Parliament with your Highness's 'consent," who are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned 'by these rules are, after all, qualified to sit.'—So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by "Nathaniel Tayler, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery," with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. And truly I think your intention is 'of' such 'only' as have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army,—in the next place to their fighting, *they* have been very good "Preachers:" and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to "preach" to their troops, companies and regiments:—which I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the carrying-on of the great Work. I think you do not mean so 'that they should be excluded:' but I tender it to you that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from sitting in Parliament 'on account of it'! ["*I myself have been known, on "occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and considerations;*

"to 'preach,' if you like to call it so! What has my whole Life "been but a 'Sermon' of some emphasis; preached with tongue and "sword, with head and heart and right hand, and soul and body and "breeches-pocket,—not without results, one would venture to hope!" —This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.]

In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nominating of Commissioners to *try* the Members who are chosen to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. I hope they will be always good men;—but if they should be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides we think,—truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the "freedom of Parliament," this 'of the Commissioners' will be something that may go rather harshly down than otherwise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do only tender it to you. I think, if there were *no* Commissioners, it might be never a whit the worse:—if you make qualifications 'for Membership,' and any man presume to sit without those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without qualifications, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; and if he sit without being *chosen*, without having qualification,—I am sure the old custom was to send him to the Tower [*That will settle him!*], to imprison such a one! If any sit there that have not right to sit,—if any stranger come in upon a pretended title of *election*, perhaps it is a different case,—but if any sit there upon a pretence of *qualification* in him, you may send *him* to prison without more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parliamentary business:—I do but hint it to you. I believe, If any man had sat in former Parliaments without, 'for instance,' taking the oaths &c. that were prescribed, it would have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that kind, 'instead of your Forty-one Commissioners,' might be equivalent to any other way, if not better.

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his *Certificates*. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left &c., and rigorous enough formalities.—Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

'*Article Fifth* relates to the "Other House;" a new House of Lords 'we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, not fewer than

'Forty: they are to be nominated by your Highness and approved by 'this House: all classes excluded by the preceding Article from our body 'are of course excluded from theirs.' His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [*Yes*], which concerns the Nomination of the Other House,—in the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to be nominated as you there design it,[51] and the approbation is to be from This House, —I would say, from the Parliament. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be subsequently named, after the Other House *is sat*, upon any accidental removal or death,—you do not say 'How.' Though it seems to refer to the same 'rule' as the first 'original' selection doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the Chief Officer,[52] and the approbation of the "Other House." If I do express clearly what you—Pardon me: but I think that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there;—as I think you will be able to judge whether it be or no.

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

'*Article Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there shall be 'a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000*l.*; one million for Navy and Army, '300,000*l.* for the support of the Government. No part of it by a 'Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be granted by the Commons 'in Parliament,—and neither this Revenue nor any other charge what-'ever to be laid upon the subject except according to the Parliament's 'direction and sanction.' Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the Government; wherein you have distributed Three-hundred-thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil Authority, and One-million to the maintenance of your Forces by Sea and Land:—you have indeed in your Instrument said so, 'that there shall be such a Revenue,' and we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it certain; nor yet those "temporary supplies" which are intended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is desired, That you

[51] 'as you there design it;' polite for 'by me.' [52] Cannot say 'me.'

will take this into your thoughts, and make the general and temporary allowances of Revenue *certain* both as to the sum and to the times those "supplies" are to be continued. [*Let us know what ground we stand on.*] And truly I hope I do not curry favour with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very reasonably desire it, That these moneys, whatever they are;—that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest in this business,[53] as lieth at His disposal;—that these moneys, 'I say,' may *not* be issued out by the authority of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. You have made in your Instrument a coördination 'of Council and Chief Magistrate' in general terms: 'but I could wish' that this might be a specified thing, That the moneys were not to be distributed 'except by authority of both.' It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, That the moneys be issued out by advice of the Council, and that the Treasurers who receive these moneys be accountable every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves;—'that' every new Parliament, the Treasurer be accountable to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.

['*Article Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders-in-'chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and military, "are to be 'approved-of by both Houses of Parliament."']

There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be never so great a loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parliament, it should be by the choice—[*Omit "of the Chief Magistrate," or politely mumble it into indistinctness*],—with the consent of the Council; to be *afterwards* approved by Parliament?

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled. —And now for Article Twelfth:

'*Article Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth*, though in the 'ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked *Thirteenth*):—Classes of 'persons incapable of holding any office. Same, I think, as those excluded 'from elections,—only there is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes 'some remarks upon this, under the Title of "Article Twelfth;"—a new

[53] If I live, and continue to govern.

'article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, which is 'now Article Twelfth,[54] has probably pushed this into the Thirteenth 'place.']

The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of Public Office and Trust. [*Treats all of* DISqualifications, *your Highness; which, however, comes to the same thing.*] Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are not so qualified, 'I do not see but hereby still' they may execute them. "Office of Trust" is a very large word; it goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether;—it goeth far. Now if any shall come-in who are not so qualified, they certainly do commit a breach upon your rule:—and whether you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon him an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to that Article?

[Nothing done in this. The "Penalty," vague in outline, but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued-for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

'*Article Thirteenth* suddenly provides that your Highness will be 'pleased to consent that "Nothing in this Petition and Advice, or the 'assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to—the dissolving of this 'present Parliament!"'—"Oh, no!" answers his Highness in a kind of 'bantering way; "not in the least!"]

The next 'Article' is fetched, in some respects, I may say, by head and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in some sense it hath an affinity 'with the rest, too;' I may say, I think it is within your general scope[55] upon this account;—'yes,' I am sure of it: There is mention made in the last parts of your Instrument [*Looking in the Paper; Article Eighteenth*] of your purpose to do many good things:—I am confident, *not* like the gentleman who made his last will, and set down a great number of names of men who were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the latter end! ["*You cannot do these 'many good things' if I dissolve "you! That will be a Will, with many beneficiary legatees, and no "sum mentioned at the end!" His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look;—to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.*]

[54] Whitlocke, p. 659.

[55] 'order' in orig.

I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you *will* think sincerely, as before God, "That the Laws be regulated."[56] I hope you will. We have been often talking of them:—and I remember well, at the old Parliament [*Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence*], we were three months, and could not get over the word "Incumbrances" [*Hum-m-m!*]: and we thought there was little hope of "regulating the Law" where there was such difficulty as to that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one of the things that God looks for, and would have. [*Alas, your Highness!*]—I confess, if any man should ask me, "Why, how would you have it done?" I confess I do not know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness of Suits, and those various things which I do not know what names they bear—I heard talk of "Demurrers" and suchlike things, which I scarce know—[*Sentence is wrecked*]! —But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole business of Settlement, whatever be the issue of it, if it come, which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please God;—'then,' by a sacrifice 'to God' in it, or rather as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, to do something that is honourable and effectual in this. ["*Reforming of the Law!*" *Alas, your Highness!*]—

'Another thing' that—truly I say that it is not in your Instrument—[*Nothing said of it there, which partly embarrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small Digression*]!—Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of Manners,—you will pardon me!—My Fellow Soldiers 'the Major-Generals,' who were raised-up upon that just occasion of the Insurrection, not only "to secure the Peace of the Nation," but to see that persons who were least likely to help-on "peace" or to continue it, but rather to break it—["*These "Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such persons; "suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took "some charge of* 'REFORMATION OF MANNERS,' *they:"—but his Highness is off elsewhither, excited by this 'tickle subject,' and the Sentence has evaporated*]—Dissolute loose persons that can go up and down from house to house,—and they are Gentlemen's sons

[56] One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

who have nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of living to the profit of the Commonwealth : these I think had a good course taken with them. [*Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could,—and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational man any trouble with them which could be avoided!*] And I think what was done to them was honourably and honestly and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say, It[57] showed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation;—as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform the Nation; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall under *this* head alone—! [*Not under Reformation of* MANNERS *alone: what will the consequence be?*]

We send our children into France before they know God or Good Manners;[58] and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they come home! Indeed, this makes the Nation not only commit those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens men to justify those things;—as the Apostle saith, "Not only to do wickedly themselves, but to "take pleasure in them that do so." And truly, if something be not done in this kind, 'in the way of reforming public morals,' without sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, though they be Noblemen's sons—! [*Sentence breaks down*]—Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; that some course might be taken for Reformation; that there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly, to do it heartily, and nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. And likewise that some care might be taken that those good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be put in execution.

This I must needs say of our Major-Generals who did that

[57] The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this "It."

[58] Morals.

service: I think it was an excellent good thing;—I profess I do! [*Yes; though there were great outcries about it.*] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you 'to consider,' that though we may have good Laws against the common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is to execute them 'now, the Major-Generals being off'? Really a Justice of the Peace,—he shall by the most be wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of these things! [*Cannot do it; not he.*] And therefore I hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your consideration, that something may be found out to repress such evils. I am persuaded you would glorify God by this as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore I hope you will pardon me.

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. *Article Fifteenth* in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided, 'That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament:' but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire that 'no part of' "the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament." I doubt "Public Revenue" is like "*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ;*" a notion only; and not to be *found* that I know of! [*It* IS *all alienated; Crown Lands &c. are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth, as the "Keepers of the* LIBERTY *of England" were—a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!*] But if there be any,—and if God bless us in our Settlement, there will be Public Revenue accruing,—the point is, Whether you will subject this to any alienation without consent of Parliament?

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatchèd*, we will speak of selling them!—Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

'*Article Sixteenth*,' in his Highness's copy of the Paper, 'provides 'that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is not contrary to this 'Petition and Advice, shall be in the least made void hereby.'—His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example),

which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament.—A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you,—it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, and during the time of them, 'kept unabrogated;' that they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,[59]—that they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled condition?[60] Because it is but an implication 'that you here make;' it is not determined. You do pass-by the thing, without such a foundation as will keep those people, who are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that their titles be not questioned or shaken,—if the matter be not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in regard to this 'of keeping men safe who have purchased on that footing.' If the words already 'used' do not suffice—That I submit to your own advisement.

But there is in this another very great consideration. There have been, since the present Government 'began,' several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since we undertook this Government [*Very cumbrous phraseology, your Highness; for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one* CAN *make Acts and Ordinances by a mere Council and Protector!*]: And I think your Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* 'as' to these, and dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make an apology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts of them, 'very extensive sorts,' will be merely concerned upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dissettles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament doth not approve well of what hath been done 'by us' upon a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. 'Nay, if not,' why subject the Nation to a

[59] *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name.

[60] It was long debated; see *Burton*.

sort of men who perhaps would do so ?[61] We think we have in that thing deserved well of the State. [*Do not "dissettle" his Highness! He has, "in that thing," of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances &c. were indispensable, "deserved well."—Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.*]

If any man will ask me, "But ah, Sir, what have you done *since?*"—Why, ah,—as I will confess my fault where I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they 'then' were, I think we have done the Commonwealth service! We have therein made great settlements,—that have we. We have settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the business of the Ministry [*"Triers" diligent here, "Expurgators" diligent everywhere; much good work completed*];—and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault;[62] I wish it be not! But I must needs say, If I have anything to rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any good or service, 'it is this.' I can say it from my heart; and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will to the contrary,—he will give me leave to enjoy my own opinion in it, and my own conscience and heart; and 'to' dare bear my testimony to it: There hath not been such a service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the Ministers themselves, take the generality of them — [*"are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as "Triers and as Expurgators:" but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his "elements of rhetoric" fly into the* ELEMENTAL *state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.*]—They will tell 'you,' it is beside their instructions, 'if they have fallen into "passion 'and mistakes," if they have meddled with civil matters, in their 'operations as Triers!' And we did adopt the thing upon that account; we did not trust upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as if 'these Triers were' *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But—

[61] Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate?

[62] 'be not to secure the grave men' (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above; "an aggravation of our fault with such objectors."

[*Checks himself*]—So we end in this: We 'knew not and' know not better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful. We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by doing what we did.

And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it,—in the generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as heretofore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times of Episcopacy—alas what pitiful Certificates served to make a man a Minister! [*Forty-fold better now.*] If any man could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be admitted;—as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went for Hebrew with a good many! [*Satirical. "They "studied Pan, Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their "Hebrew Bible and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!"*] Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; and a man was admitted upon such an account [*As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew*];—ay, and upon a less.—I am sure the admission granted to such places *since* has been under this character as the rule: That they must not admit a man unless they were able to discern something of the Grace of God in him. [*Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing,—nay for less, if we consider well. In some points of view, it is horrible!*] 'Grace of God;' which was to be so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they could have a very good testimony from four or five of the neighbouring Ministers who knew him,—he could not yet be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak my conscience in it,[63]—though a great many are angry at it, nay if all are angry at it,—for how shall you please everybody?

Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, he will be baptised 'again.' That is their opinion. [*Anabaptists.*] They will not admit a man into a Congregation to be Minister, except he commence by being so much *less*. The Presbyterians

[63] "I do approve it" is modestly left out.

'again,' they will not admit him unless he be "ordained." Generally *they* will not go to the Independents:—truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [*With the Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.*] Here are Three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for; whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, by possibility, excluding all those Anabaptists, all those Independents! And so now you have put it into this way, That though a man be of any of those three judgments, if he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. [*Very good, your Highness!*] This hath been our care and work; both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the foundations of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being 'admitted' in upon it. And if this be a "time of Settlement," then I hope it is not a time of shaking;—and therefore I hope you will be pleased to settle this business too: and that you will neither "shake" the Persons [*Us*] who have been poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of settling this Nation, and of doing good to it; nor shake those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. And so I have done with the offers to you,—'with these my suggestions to you.'—

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, 'That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l.*;' and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses;—much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I have in Law! These are great sums; it is well if I can count them to you. [*Looking on his Note.*] The present charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be 2,426,989*l.* The whole present revenue in England, Scotland and Ireland, is about 1,900,000*l.*; I think this was reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, towards this you settle, by your Instrument, 1,300,000*l.* for the Government; and out of that "to maintain the Force by Sea and Land," and "without Land-tax," I think: and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by the 'present Act of' Government 600,000*l.*! [*A grave discrepancy!*] Because, you see, the present Government has 1,900,000*l.*; and the whole sum which can be raised comes 'short' of the present charge by 542,689*l.*,—[*So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported:* 526,989*l.* *is what "Arithmetic" gives.*] And although

an end should be put to the Spanish War, yet there will be a necessity, for preserving the peace of the Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in England, Scotland and Ireland; also a considerable Fleet for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the Army, which comes to upwards of 1,100,000*l. per annum*, and the "Support of the Government" 300,000*l.*, it will be necessary for some convenient time,—seeing you find things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound healed before it be,—that there be raised, over and above the 1,300,000*l.*, the sum of 600,000*l. per annum;* which makes up the sum of 1,900,000*l.* And likewise that the Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [*Explicit, and undeniable!*] And if these things be not ascertained,—as one saith "Money is the Cause," and certainly whatever the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to the ground,—all our labour will be lost. And therefore I hope you will have a care of our undertakings!—[*Most practical paragraph.*]

And having received expressions from you which we may believe, we need not offer these things to you; 'we need not doubt' but these things will be cared for. Those things have 'already in Parliament' been made overture of to you; and are before you:—and so has likewise the consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

And so I have done with what I had to offer you,—I think I have, truly, for my part. ["*Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?*" *Committee of Ninety-nine looks expectant*]—And when I shall understand where it lies on me to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure in these things a little farther;—we have answered the Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those things that were the subject-matter of debate and consideration;—and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be in a condition to discharge myself [*Throws no additional light on the Kingship at all!*], as God shall put in my mind. And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say,—when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take consideration of these things, that I may hear what your thoughts are of them,—I do not say that as a

condition to anything—but I shall then be free and honest and plain to discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, may reasonably be expected from me, and 'what' God shall set me free to answer you in.*

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land!—

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing* (as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers*, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buckbasket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckaback: thanks be to Heaven!—

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for 'Reformation of Manners,'—with an eye on the 'idle fellows about Piccadilly,' who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about 'Piccadilly House' and its green spaces.[64] Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised:—'Land-tax,' alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; 'tax on new buildings' (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to 'Triers for the Ministry;' to 'Penalties' for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine wait upon his Highness with it,[65]—who answers briefly, 'speaking very low,' That the

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 389-400.

[64] Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How 'piccadillies' (*quasi* Spanish *pecadillos*, or *little-sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there; whence &c. &c.

[65] Burton, ii. 101.

things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! 'By the generality' it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, 'for the present,' as Bulstrode indicates, 'his Highness did decide to'—in fact speak as follows:

SPEECH XIV.

Banqueting-House, Whitehall, Friday forenoon 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him 'a Paper,'—some farther last-touches added to their ultimate painfully-revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled;—and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, "sorry to "have kept them so long," requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: "We have been there; his High-"ness will see you all in the Banqueting-House even now."[66] Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go.—'Petition of certain Officers,' that Petition which Ludlow[67] in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just 'at the door:' we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

Mr. Speaker,

I come hither to answer That that was in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me 'yesterday;' which was in relation to the Desires that were offered me by the House in That they called their Petition.

[66] Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in *Commons Journals* (8th May 1657), viii. 531.

[67] ii. 588, &c., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.[68] I am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some 'too,' and some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have said. I think it is an 'Act of' Government which, in the aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those Rights;—but 'always' to serve it what I can to the attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well provided there for the safety and security of honest men in that great natural and religious liberty, which is Liberty of Conscience.—These are the great Fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament.

I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing which hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the Title of King,—as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. But in things that respect particular persons,—every man who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a Liberty but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning forbear,—to examine my own heart and thoughts and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the other 'points,' I must be a little confident in this, That what with the circumstances which accompany human actions,—whether they be circumstances of time or persons [*Straitlaced Republican Soldiers*

[68] 23d Feb.—8th May: ten weeks and more.

that have just been presenting you their Petition], whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private and particular circumstances such as compass any person who is to render an account of his own actions,—I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And whatsoever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it,—whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it [*Thinskinned Republicans, or the like "circumstances"*], which make all indifferent actions good or evil. I say "Circumstances" [*Yes!*]; and truly I mean "good or evil" to him that doth it. [*Not to you Honourable Gentlemen, who have merely advised it in general.*]

I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—Only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [*With a kind glance over those honourable faces; all silent as if dead, many of them with their mouths open*]; I wish I had done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But truly this is my Answer, That (although I think the Act of Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it—as to which I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings—[*Sentence irrecoverable*]—I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty Business.*

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: "Buzz, buzz! Distinct at last!"—and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended;—and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

'The Protector,' says Bulstrode, 'was satisfied in his private judgment

---

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in *Somers* (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The *Commons Journals* give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense.

'that it was fit for him to accept this Title of King, and matters were 'prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the 'Commonwealth's-men,' by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from 'the Commonwealth's-men' and 'many Officers of the Army,' he decided 'to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, 'and refused at this time.'[69] With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.[70] Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2,000*l.*: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, "I will *lambertise* you."[71] The 'great Lord Lambert,' hitherto a very important man, now 'cultivated flowers at Wimbledon;' attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;[72] a much improved Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to 'nominate his successor,' and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,[73] whereupon is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General Blake: and so, in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

[69] Whitlocke, p. 646. [70] Godwin, iv. 352, 367. [71] *Heath's Chronicle.*

[72] *Commons Journals*, vii. 358 (25th May 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648.—See, in Appendix, No. 30, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion; forgotten hitherto. (*Note of* 1857.)

[73] 28th May (*Commons Journals*, vii. 54; *Burton*, ii. 142).

SPEECH XV., LETTERS CCXVIII.—CCXXIV.

The Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, mostly official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV.

Parliament has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills, Assessment of 340,000*l.* a-month on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, 9,000*l.* on Ireland;[1] to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,[2] which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning 9th June 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather-up their Bills; certain Money-Bills 'for an assessment towards the Spanish War;' and 'divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment,' among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah, who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor 'finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk.' Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a 'short and pithy Speech' on the general proceedings of

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 151; *Commons Journals*, vii. 554-7.
[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 551-2.

Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: "A few slight "Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may "it please your Highness." His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

MR. SPEAKER,

I perceive that, among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.*

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

LETTER CCXVIII.

OFFICIAL Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The 'small Jewel' sent herewith is one of 500*l.* value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, 'Instructions' went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

'To General Blake, at Sea.'

SIR, Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

I have received yours of 'the 20th of April last;'[3] and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

[3] Blank in MS.: see antea, p. 218.

give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our 'own' ships and men;[4]—which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution 'thereof;'—and have sent you a small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet, and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain,

Your very affectionate friend,

'OLIVER P'*

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to coöperate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing;—and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday 26th June 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, 'in a place prepared,' duly prepared with all

[4] '50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours' (Burton, ii. 142).

* Thurloe, vi. 342. 'Instructions to General Blake,' of the same date, ibid.

manner of 'platforms,' 'cloths of state,' and 'seats raised one above the other,' 'at the upper end of Westminster Hall.' Palaceyard, and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people—Let the reader conceive it; or read in old Pamphlets the 'exact relation' of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.[5]

'His Highness standing under the Cloth of State,' says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, 'the Speaker in the name 'of the Parliament presented to him: First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; 'which the Speaker, assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his 'Highness. Then he,' the Speaker, 'delivered to him the *Bible* richly 'gilt and bossed,' an affecting symbolic Gift: 'After that, the Speaker 'girt the *Sword* about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the '*Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a Speech to him 'on these several things presented;' eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. 'Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath;' and so ended, really in a solemn manner. 'And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended 'his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by land and sea, 'and the whole Government and People of the Three Nations, to the 'blessing and protection of God.'——And then 'the people gave several 'great shouts;' and 'the trumpets sounded; and the Protector sat in his 'chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand:' a remarkable sight to 'see. On his right sat the Ambassador of France,' on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; 'and near the Earl of Warwick stood the Lord Viscount 'Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a 'drawn sword in his hand,'—a sublime sight to some of us![6]

And so this Solemnity transacts itself;—which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism; perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion.—The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

[5] An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, &c. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152-160.)

[6] Whitlocke, p. 661.

LETTER CCXIX.

Sea-General Montague, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to coöperate with Land-General Reynolds, on the dispatch of real business.

For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.

Sir, Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth.

I remain,

Your very loving friend,

'Oliver P.' *

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter, Aug^st. 11, 1657, to comand mee to sayle.*

LETTER CCXX.

For my loving Friend John Dunch, Esquire.

Sir, 'Hampton Court,' 27th August 1657.

I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Hampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,[7]—I rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.†

* *Cromwelliana*, p. 168: 'Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.,'—is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough mss. no. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's,—tragically physiognomic:—in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous.

[7] Father-in-law, Mayo.

† Harris, p. 515.

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days,—and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI.

General Montague, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, '28th August, wind at S.S.W.,' being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.[8] 'A Flushinger,' namely, 'has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her;' a Flushinger there, and 'six other Dutch Ships' hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

'*For General Montague, on board the Naseby, in the Downs.*'

Sir, Hampton Court, 30th August 1657.

The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching of a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships, which, as you are informed, have bullion and other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Laws of Nations and 'to' the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein.

Your very loving friend,

Oliver P.*

[8] His Letter to Secretary Thurloe (*Thurloe*, vi. 489).

* Thurloe, vi. 489.

LETTER CCXXII.

By the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last,[9] for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with the Continent as he was,—continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.[10] Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-General Reynolds, were landed, 'in new red coats,'[11] 'near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May' last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them;—and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not 'Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk,' on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior;—the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of 'Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France' in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of

[9] 23d March 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

[10] *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

[11] Antea, vol. i. p. 140; vol. ii. p. 355.

sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing in brief compass.[12] He is Scotch; of the 'Lockharts of Lee' in Lanarkshire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home;—was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,[13] though only as a common Colonel then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now newly made Protector, —who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him to continue where he was.

He did continue; married 'Miss Robina Sewster,' a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised 'a distinguished husband;'[14] has been our Ambassador in France near two years now;[15]—does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.'[16]

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your

[12] Noble (ii. 233-73) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. 'Family Memoirs' of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lockhart's own Letters are his best Memorial;—for the present drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of *Thurloe;* with or without chance of recovery.

[13] Antea, vol. i. p. 299.

[14] Antea, vol. i. p. 233.—'Married, 22 Feb. 1654, William Lockhart, Esq. and Robina Sewster, spinster, both of this Parish.' (*Register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.*)

[15] Since 30th December 1655 ('Family Memoirs' in *Noble*, ii. 244).

[16] Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 482, 487); soon after at Paris (ib. 496).

diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness[17] and performance. And that which increaseth our sense 'of this' is, The resolution we 'for our part' had, rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish 'as' to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath,—we never could doubt, before we madeour Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed 'towards' as we are!

To talk of "giving us Garrisons" which are *inland*, as Caution for future action; to talk of "what will be done next Campaign," —are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne;—which I think they will do *as* soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side 'of the Water,' though Spanish.

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to *get* ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath!—Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen and secure his Siege, and 'to' reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy 'being' in capacity to do nothing to relieve it,—the best time to besiege that Place will be *now*. Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment,—especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward[18] as they are.

I desire you to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will

[17] 'ingenuity,' as usual, in orig.

[18] Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.[19] And what do all *delays* signify but 'even this:' The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any, advantage to ourselves!—

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And, 'in fine,' That consideration may be had how our Men may be put into a position to be returned to us;—whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.[20]

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express.

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

LETTER CCXXIII.

SAME date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same Express.

'*To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France.*'

SIR, Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

We desire, having written to you as we have, that the Design be *Dunkirk* rather than Gravelines; and much *more* that it be:—but one of them rather than fail.

[19] You may cut-off his retreat, if he venture that way.

[20] 'thereof' in orig. * Thurloe, vi. 490.

We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and Two-thousand foot more, if need be, —if Dunkirk be the design.[21] Believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferté's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard,—leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us *have* any footing on that side the Water,—then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction 'for our expense incurred,' and to the drawing-off of our Men.

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts.

Your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France; "The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil;"—he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened 'on the 21st day of September' next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV.

HERE has an old dim Letter lately turned up,—communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant,—which evidently relates to this operation. Resuscitated from its dim Archives, it falls with ready fitness into rank here; kindling the old dead Books

[21] Gravelines is to belong to *them;* Dunkirk to *us:* Dunkirk will be much preferable.

* Thurloe, vi. 489.

into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind!—Of 'Denokson,' clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war *timmerman* on the great scale; of him, or of 'Colonel Clerke,' whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary;—and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

For General Montague, on board the London, before Dunkirk.
These.

SIR, Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

This Bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you,—being a very good artist, especially in wooden works,—to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the farther strengthening of them.

I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view; and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what Timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back. I rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side,—Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and 'four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower' warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*;—and 'the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise.'[22]

* Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as before, 'very shaky.'

[22] 22d October (*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 727; Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 175).

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer;[23] Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyalest men had to make their comparisons.—On the whole, we may say this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, 'immortal Six-thousand' as some call them,[24] gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's:—Oliver's great heroic Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor, is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart,—let us still spare a corner for recording it,—John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism, or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

'*Monday* 31*st August* 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly known by 'the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying on Saturday at Eltham, 'was this morning removed thence to London; and his corpse conveyed 'to the House called the *Mouth*,' old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, 'at Aldersgate,—which is the usual meeting-place of the people called 'Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. At this 'place, in the afternoon, there assembled a medley of people; among 'whom the Quakers were most eminent for number: and within the 'house a controversy was, Whether the ceremony of a hearse-cloth' (pall) 'should be cast over his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, 'would not assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening, 'brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood a man on 'purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the coffin; and he endeavoured 'to do it: but the crowd of Quakers would not permit him; and having 'gotten the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without 'farther ceremony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, 'and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to Bedlam, where it lieth 'interred.'[25]

One noisy element, then, is out of this world:—another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary

[23] 13th June 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, &c.). Clarendon, iii. 853-58.

[24] Sir William Temple, *Memoirs*, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 547).

[25] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 168).

business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized 'in the Ship *Hope*, in a mean habit, disguised like a country-'man, and his face much altered by an overgrown beard;'—before the Ship *Hope* could get under weigh, about a month ago.[26] Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,[27] and to his own relief and ours disappears,—poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Peterel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. 'They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt,'—it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination. New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The 'Excluded Members' are to be readmitted then; there is to be a 'Second House:' who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them!—

Wednesday 11*th November* 1657. 'This day,' say the old Newspapers, 'the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, youngest 'Daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most 'noble gentleman Mr. Robert Rich, Son of the Lord Rich, Grandchild 'of the Earl of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; 'in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather, and Father, 'and the said Countess, with many other persons of high honour and 'quality.' At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome;—which we are glad to hear of, 'though our friends truly were very few!'—And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.[28] Wedding 'to the most noble lord, the Lord Fauconberg,' lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named,—which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connexions. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, 'in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts;'[29] of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

And now for the new Session of Parliament, which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

[26] 24th July (Newspapers, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 167). [27] Ibid. pp. 169-70.

[28] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 169).

[29] Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134, 125).

SPEECHES XVI.—XVIII., LETTER CCXXV.

The First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, a Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and suchlike, would not be needed henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was?—Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties. His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to *do* his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfulest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto!—

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage:—no, his Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless 'somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons' has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a 'somewhat,'—the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new-planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it, if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength,

—what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact,—as it is already, by many symptoms, showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the mean while it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best he can.

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many Books;[1] but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence, such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the *Napoleon-Marshals* of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Francis Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave—some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was to the Lord Protector, could not think[2] of sitting with such a Napoleon-Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life. Yes; in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along,—proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him;—I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties,[3] seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixty-three summoned in all; of whom some Forty and upwards sat, mostly taken from the House of Commons:—the worst effect of which was, that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission,—so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they will endeavour to keep it; and seems

[1] Complete, in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 167-9: incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 460-71. An old Copy of the official *Summons* to these Lords is in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 3246.

[2] Ludlow, ii. 596.

[3] Thurloe, vi. 648.

to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise; this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

But now the Parliament reassembling, on this Wednesday the 20th, there begins, in the 'Outer Court,' since called the Lobby, an immense 'administering of the Oath,' the whole Parliament taking it; Six Commissioners appearing 'early in the morning,' with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books;[4] and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints 'Mr. Smythe' Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about 'surrendering of Records' and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace,—yes, let us take the Mace,—and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal, who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.

SPEECH XVI.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN 'OF' THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and Petition of this present Parliament. After so much expense of blood and treasure, 'we are now' to search and try what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknowledge the labour and industry that is past, 'your past labour,' which hath been spent upon a business worthy of the best men and the best Christians. [*May it prove fruitful!*]

It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we have passed through, and what 'issue' we are now arrived at. We hope

[4] *Commons Journals*, vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

we may say we have arrived if not 'altogether' at what we aimed at, yet at that which is much beyond our expectations. The nature of this Cause, and the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. [*Have we arrived at that?*] I shall not much look back; but rather say one word concerning the state and condition we are all now in.

You know very well, the first Declaration,[5] after the beginning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time designs had been laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of the Nations, 'and' to innovate in matters of Religion. And those very persons who, a man would have thought, should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil things, did justify them all. [*Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Manwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-moneys, all Civil Tyranny was right according to them!*] All the 'Civil' transactions that were,—'they justified them' in their pulpits, presses, and otherwise! Which was verily thought, 'had they succeeded in it,' would have been a very good shelter to them, to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to innovate as to eat-out the core and power and heart and life of all Religion! By bringing on us a company of poisonous Popish Ceremonies [*Somewhat animated, your Highness!*], and imposing them upon those that were accounted "the Puritans" of the Nation, and professors of religion among us,—driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilderness! As was instanced to our friends who were forced to fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find Liberty for their Consciences.

Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our Quarrel, and of those Ten Years of War wherein we were exercised; and if the good hand of God, for we are to attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus home unto us as it is now settled in the Petition and Advice,—I think we have all cause to bless God,

[5] Declaration, 2d August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in *Parliamentary History*, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost impious at the time (see D'Ewes's MS. Journal, 23d July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

and the Nations have all cause to bless Him. [*If we were of thankful just heart,—yea!*]

I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this Parliament.[6] Which expresseth well what *we* may say, as truly as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm! The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He "had been favourable unto His land," and "brought back the captivity of His people;" and 'then' how that He had "pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their "sin, and taken away all His wrath;"—and indeed of these unspeakable mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardoning of national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also!—And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other mercies may be witnesses for God 'to *us*,'—we feel and we see them every day.

The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears to us in this: That He hath given us *Peace;*—and the blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties civil and spiritual! [*Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this;—and we in some measure have it!*] And I remember well, the Church 'in that same Eighty-fifth Psalm' falls into prayer and into praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and breaks into this expression: "Surely salvation is nigh unto them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land." In the beginning it is called His land; "Thou hast been favourable to Thy land." Truly I hope this is His land! In some sense it may be given out that it *is* God's land. And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst memory, can easily tell that we are "a Redeemed People,"—'from the time' when God was first pleased to look favourably upon us, 'to redeem us' out of the hands of Popery, in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most significant and greatest 'mercy' the Nation hath felt or tasted! I would but touch upon that,—but a touch: How God hath redeemed us, as we stand this day! Not from trouble and sorrow and anger only, but into a blessed and happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all Interests, of every member, of every

[6] Antea, Speech VI., p. 166.

individual;—'an imparting to *us*' of those mercies 'there spoken of,' as you very well see!

And then in what sense it is "our Land;"—through this grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, Peace, and rest out of Ten Years War; and given us what we would desire! Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God should have had liberty to worship God without fear of enemies? [*Strange: this "liberty" is to Oliver Cromwell a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospherie air,—a liberty not once worth thinking of. It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with* LETTERS? *The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes: once earnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs.——"Without fear of enemies," he says*] Which is the very acknowledgment of the Promise of Christ that "He would deliver His from the fear "of enemies, that they might worship Him in holiness and in "righteousness all the days of their life."

This is the portion that God hath given *us;* and I trust we shall forever heartily acknowledge it!—The Church goes on there, 'in that Psalm,' and makes her boast yet farther; "His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may dwell in our land." *His* glory; not carnal, nor anything related thereto: this glory of a Free Possession of the Gospel; this is that which we may glory in! [*Beautiful, thou noble soul!—And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January* 1658!] And it is said farther, "Mercy and Truth are met together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other." And 'note,' it shall be such righteousness as comes down from Heaven: "Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and Righteousness shall come down from Heaven." Here is the Truth of all 'truths;' here is the righteousness of God, under the notion of righteousness confirming *our* abilities,—answerable to the truth which He hath in the Gospel revealed to us! [*According to Calvin and Paul.*] And the Psalm closeth with this: "Righteousness shall go before Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps;"—that righteousness, that mercy, that love, and that kindness which we have

seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord, *it* shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked before us in.

We 'too' have a Peace this day! I believe in my very heart, you all think the things that I speak to you this day. I am sure you have cause.

And yet we are not without the murmurings of many people, who turn all this grace and goodness into wormwood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great ones, lesser ones,—of all sorts. Men that are of the Episcopal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches;—who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,[7] when they would needs make a "Protestation that no Laws "were good, which were made by this House and the House of "Commons in *their* absence;" and so without injury to others cut themselves off! 'Men of an Episcopal spirit:' indeed men that know not God; that know not how to account upon the works of God, how to measure them out; but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but *mixed*, at the best,—made up of iron and clay, like the feet of Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like to be known beforehand [*Yes, your Highness!*]; iron and clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at all!—

You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the world has not. Men knowing the things of God, and able to search into the things of God,—by that only which can fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast knows not the things of a man; nor doth the spirit of man know the things of God! "The things of God are known *by the Spirit*."[8]—Truly I will remember but one thing of those, 'the misguided persons now cast out from us:' Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of God;—men really of the spirit of God, as I think very experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated!—

But what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this age wherein we live? As I told you before, they understand not the

[7] In this same House of Lords, on the 10th of December 1641. Busy Williams the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too-hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (Antea, vol. i. p. 109.)

[8] 1 Corinthians, ii. 11.

works of God. They consider not the operation of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might fear Him;—might have liberty to do and enjoy all that that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought the things to pass! *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and engage themselves against God. And for that very cause, saith David (*Psalm Twenty-eighth*), "He shall break them down, and not build them up!"

If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you stand, own your foundation 'to be' from God. He hath set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment of your Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

I deal clearly with you,[9] I have been under some infirmity [*His Highness still looks unwell*]; therefore dare not speak farther to you;—except to let you know this much, That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of our Cause, and our attainments in it by the industry and labour of this Parliament since they last met upon this foundation—You shall find I mean, Foundation of a Cause and Quarrel thus attained-to, wherein we are thus estated.[10] I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours [*What a tone!*]; —and would have done it, with all heartiness and cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I ever yet was in, to serve the Parliament.

If God give you, as I trust He will,—["*His blessing*" *or* "*strength:*" *but the Sentence is gone.*]—He *hath* given it you, for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? He hath given you strength to do what you have done! And if God should bless you in this work, and make this Meeting happy on this account, you shall all be called the Blessed of the Lord. [*Poor Oliver!*]—The generations to come will bless us. You shall be the "repairers of breaches, and the restorers of paths to dwell in!"[11] And if there be any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world, beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance 'of it.'

As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired an Honourable

[9] Means "Give me leave to say."

[10] This Parliament's 'foundation,' the ground *this* Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our 'attainment' and 'estate' in it were so and so; hence their *Petition and Advice*, and other very salutary labours.

[11] Isaiah, lviii. 12.

Person here by me—[*Glancing towards Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal*] to discourse, a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this occasion and this meeting.*

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,[12] characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane ; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive that fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength ; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago ; and rejoice that Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in *Genesis :* Two 'firmaments' are made, two separate Houses of Parliament ; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity ; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. "What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts ?" he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates ? We will soothe them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister,—"if she "be a wall, we will build a palace of silver upon her ; if she be a door, "we will enclose her with boards of cedar :"—our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God !—

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with 'a green glazed cover over his hat,' a 'nightcap under it,' and 'his valise behind him ;' a rustic-looking man ; recognisable to *us*, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there,—for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man ! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, 'playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale.' He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King ; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 579 : that is the Original,—reported by Widdrington next day. *Burton* (ii. 322), *Parliamentary History* (xxi. 170), are copies.

[12] Reported, *Commons Journals*, vii. 582-7, Monday 25th Jan. 1657-8.

now, 'with dyed hair,' in a much disguised manner, 'at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane;' communicating with the ringleaders here.[13]

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Six-thousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the Dutch playing false; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united!—Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting:—but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an *im*practicable set of Puritan men,—the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament,—whom no beautifulest 'two firmaments' seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefulest and no fearfulest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea; which, in fact, they will carry with them to—the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott—And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged: but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.

SPEECH XVII.

We said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House,

[13] Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 176-8.

sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a Debate as to What answer should be given; as to What 'name,' first of all, this said New House was to have, —otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour; resumed, re-resumed day after day;—and never yet terminated; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of *Lords*, —not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and intrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25th, the Writer of the Diary called *Burton's*,—Nathaniel Bacon if that were he,—finds, on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, "Give me my Oath!" Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House; but he has decided to sit *here*. It is an ominous symptom. After 'Mr. Peters' has concluded his morning exercise,[14] the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, "Give me my Oath!"—"I dare not," answers Francis Bacon, the official person; Brother of the Diarist. But at length they do give it him; and he sits: Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the 'Other House' merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall this afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon, and one 'Smythe,' with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home, with true nobleness if we consider all things,—speaks:

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

(For *so* I must own you), in whom together with myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations!—The impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for which we are met together is such that I could not with a good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs of these Nations; together

[14] Burton, ii. 347.

with the proposal of such remedy as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting,—our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if *otherwise*,—I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by the time I have done, whether there be, as to *men*,[15] 'so much as' a possibility of discharging that Trust which is incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [*His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough today. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth today of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough,—and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what "it shall please God Almighty" to do!*]

I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, such "good" may be attained, and such "evil," whatever it is, may be obviated. [*Truly!*] We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that *there is need* of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is!—

I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in understanding me; —but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me.

We have not been now four years and upwards in this Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be of the greatest concernment to us. [*No mortal thinks so, your Highness!*] Your dangers,—for that is the head of my speech,—are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. You are come now, as I may say, into the end [*Which may but prove the new beginning!*] of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had

[15] humanly speaking.

in my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech: To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and 'those which hazard' your Well-being. But when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being! You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us!

First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion was a thing of "Well-being;" and truly, in a good sense, so it is, and it is no more: though it be a very high thing, it is but a thing of "Well-being." [*A Nation can still* BE, *even without Protestantism.*] But take it with all the complications of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had to the Nations abroad,—I do believe, he that looks well about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknowledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether the Christian world shall be all Popery? Or, whether God hath a love to, and we ought to have 'a love to, and' a brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant Christians in the world? [*Yes, your Highness; the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril,—with what indifference do we now, safe at two-centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off,—ungrateful as we are!*] He that strikes at but one species of a general[16] to make it nothing, strikes at all.

Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest abroad is struck-at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, quite under foot, trodden down? Judge with me a little, I beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I will pray you, consider how far *we* are concerned in that danger, as to 'our very' Being!

We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees,—that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, 'is the fact:' The Papacy, and those that are upholders of it, they have openly and avowedly trodden God's people under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were Protestants. The money you parted-with in that noble Charity

[16] Means 'one limb of a body:' metaphysical metaphor.

which was exercised in this Nation, and the just sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction enough to yourselves of this,[17] That if all the Protestants in Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, and so an end of the whole. But is this 'of Piedmont' all? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of Christendom, 'both in Austria Proper and Spain,' are armed and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

Is not,—to begin there,—the King of Hungary, who expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of Germany, and in the judgment of all men 'with' not only a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it,—is not he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of the Electors, 'as good as sure of the Emperorship'?[18] No doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors 'on his side,' and the Duke of Bavaria. [*There are but Eight Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.*] Whom will he then have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial country,—out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of Moravia and Silesia? [*Ferdinand the Second, his Grandfather; yea, your Highness;—and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred that!*] 'And' it is the daily complaint which comes over to us,—new reiterations of which we have but received within these two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of the City, That the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

And what think you of the other side of Europe, Italy to wit,—if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I may,—'Italy,' Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? They all,—what are they but a prey of the Spanish power and interest? And look to that that calls itself [*Neuter gender*] the Head of all this! A Pope fitted,—I hope

[17] proof enough that you believed.

[18] Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, had been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor, Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. 'Brandenburg' was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia; Frederick the Great's great-grandfather; properly the Founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

indeed "born" not "*in*" but out of "due time," to accomplish this bloody work; so that he may fill-up his cup to the brim, and make himself ripe for judgment! [*Somewhat grim of look, your Highness!*] He doth as *he* hath always done. He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to this very thing [*Rooting-out of the Protestants.—The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in!—He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap,—that* WE *for all coming centuries may be safe and ungrateful!*];—and no man like this present man.[19] So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts of Europe but a consent, a coöperating, at this very time and season, 'of all Popish Powers' to suppress everything that stands in their way? [*A grave epoch indeed.*]

But it may be said, "This is a great way off, in the extremest parts of the world;[20] what is that to us?"—If it be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told you it is somewhat to you It concerns all your religions, and all the good interests of England.

I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor Prince [*Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him*];—indeed poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest in Poland, and made his acquisition still good 'there' for the Protestant Religion. He is now reduced into a corner: and what addeth to the grief of all,—more grievous than all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be too truly said!)—is, That men of our Religion forget this, and seek his ruin. [*Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? "I wish it may not be too truly said!"*]

I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? Men that are not true to the Religion we profess,—'profess,' I am persuaded, with greater

[19] Alexander VII.; 'an able Pope,' Dryasdust informs me.

[20] 'parts of it' in orig.

truth, uprightness and sincerity than it is 'professed' by any collected body, so nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the world,—God will find them out! [*The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for "Sound Dues," for "Possession of the Sound," and mere shopkeeper lucre!*] I beseech you consider how things do coöperate. 'Consider,' If this may seem but a design against your Well-being? It is a design against your very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against the Protestant Interest,—wherein so many Protestants are not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red cap and coat ["*Coat,*" *I hope, is not "red:"—but we are in haste*], as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer your profit before your godliness [*Whatever certain Dutch and Danes may do!*], but reckon godliness the *greater* gain!

But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whomsoever,—I name no one state upon this head [*Do not name the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!*], but I think all acknowledge States *are* engaged in the combination,—judge you where you were! You have accounted yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep your Ditch, nor your Shipping,—unless you turn your Ships and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; and fight to defend yourselves on *terra firma!*—

And these things stated, *liberavi animam meam;* and if there be "no danger" in 'all' this, I am satisfied. I have told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, We may discourse of all things at pleasure,—[*Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be "House of Lords" or "Other House;" put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle jargon!*],—and that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, without any due sense of these things,—I have this comfort to

God-ward: I have told you of it. [*Yes, your Highness!—O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no* SENSE *of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a gray waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such* HEADS, *too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves—stuck up on Temple Bar!*]

Really were it not that France (give me leave to say it) is a balance against that Party at this time—!—Should there be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured and aimed-at, "a General Peace"), then will England be the "general" object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to accuse;—but do look on the other side of the water! You have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with; some that have professed malice enough against you. I think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you would trust your enemy than some friends,—that is, rather believe your enemy, and trust *him* that he means your ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be in some alliance with you! [*We have watched the Dutch, and their dealings in the Baltic lately!*]—I perhaps could enforce all this with some particulars, nay I 'certainly' could. For you know that your enemies be the same who have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Elizabeth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy 'all along;' wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence, to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public attempts [*Spanish Armadas and suchlike*] would not do, how have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of any use for preserving our peace! [*Guy Faux and Jesuit Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravaillac in the Rue de la Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit; and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they have not wanted "counsel," of a sort!*] And at this time I ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same counsels and things to the uttermost?

The business *then* was: The Dutch needed Queen Elizabeth of famous memory for their protection. They had it, 'had protection from her.' I hope they will never ill requite it! For if they should forget either the kindness that was then shown them (which was

their real safety), or the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them,—truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this sort will hardly prosper in it. [*He cannot, your Highness: unless* GOD *and His* TRUTH *be a mere Hearsay of the market, he never can!*] But this may awaken you, howsoever. I hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! It is certain, they [*These Dutch*] have professed a principle which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter of dispute at this time, 'we are not here to argue with them about it:' only let everything weigh with your spirits as it ought;—let it do so. And we must tell you, we do know that this, 'of their having such a principle,' is *true*. I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange here 'in London' were resorted-to, it would let you know, as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired—sloops, I think they call them, or some other name,—they have hired sloops, 'let sloops on hire,' to transport upon you Four-thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse, upon the pretended interest of that young man that was the late King's Son. [*What a designation for "Charles by the grace of God"! The "was" may possibly have been "is" when spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.*] And this is, I think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to any ill end or purpose:—a thing to no other end than that it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any artifice with you to pray you to help us with money for defending ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, "Pray help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may be defended abroad and at home." I will use no arguments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion—[*His fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off*]—For you will find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and these Nations.

If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. And if both these considerations, 'of home affairs and foreign,' have but this effect, to *get* a consideration among you, a due and just consider-

ation,—let God move your hearts for the answering[21] of anything that shall be due unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall not be solicitous [*The "artifice" and "money" of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears*]; I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my Guide hitherto.

I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast sometimes that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for us that we are Englishmen;—but it is a motive to us to do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, and the interest of it. [*Truly!*]—But, I beseech you, what is our case at home?——I profess I do not well know where to begin on this head, or where to end,—I do not. But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you 'upon.' We are as full of calamities, and of divisions among us in respect of the spirits of men, 'as we could well be,'—though, through a wonderful, admirable, and never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, 'still' in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we have had—yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell the sons of men, 'that we are got again to peace'—

['Beautiful great Soul,' exclaims a modern Commentator here, 'Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all irradiated with the Eternal, 'and God is everywhere divinely visible in the affairs of men, and man 'himself has as it were become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have 'those days and those souls passed away without return?—Patience: 'intrinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they remain with 'us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, reappear among us,—if it 'please Heaven! There *have been* Divine Souls in England; England 'too, poor moiling toiling heavy-laden thick-eyed England has been 'illuminated, though it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones;—and '*once*, in a sense, is always!']

—that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek to break it, God Almighty root that man out of this Nation! And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! [*Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!*]

[21] performing on such demand.

'Peace-breakers, do they consider what it *is* they are driving towards? They should do it!' He that considereth not the "woman with child,"—the sucking children of this Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full as Nineveh was said to be;—he that considereth not these, and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those now living added to these; he that considereth not these, must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man to his grave, if not to Hell! [*Where is Sam Cooper, or some 'prince of limners,' to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best High-Art Paintings for it, gilt frames and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!*]—I say, look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of Interests in this Nation,—if they be worthy the name of Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people,—if I may call them sects, whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil account—[*Sentence gone; meaning left clear enough*]—Is not this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may be uppermost! That every sort of men may get the power into their hands, and "they would use it well;"—that every sect may get the power into their hands! [*A reflection to make one wonder.—Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate, peppery, loud-babbling individuals,—with so much good in them too, while 'bitted'!*]

It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content with rule. 'Content with rule,' if it were but in Civil things, and with those that would rule *worst*;—because misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a bad Government, is better than none!—Neither is this all: but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making wounds, 'but widening those already made.' As if you should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those wounds! This is what 'such' men would be at; this is the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in Spiritual respects. They

will be making wounds, and rending and tearing, and making them wider than they were. Is not this the case? Doth there want anything—I speak not of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up of them,—and what is the want that prevents these things from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more anger than strength? They have not power to attain their ends. 'There wants nothing else.' And, I beseech you, judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing, while they are contesting one with another! They are contesting in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these *all united*. What must be the issue of such a thing as this? 'So stands it;' it is *so*.—And do but judge what proofs have been made of the spirits of these men. [*Republican spirits: we took a "Standard" lately, a Painted one, and a Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!*] Summoning men to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, to fight for their notions; each sort thinking they are to try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking that *they* are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, and bind themselves in such a project![22]

Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation is in. *This* is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the Cause of God 'is in,'—amidst such a party of men as the Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect to what these—["*Cavaliers and their Participants,' both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length exclusively, before the Sentence ends*]—are like to do of themselves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not who carry the goal [*Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other day, he was not very careful!*]:—some of these have invited the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

And this is *true*. 'This' and many other things that are not fit to be suggested unto you; because 'so' we should betray the interest of our intelligence. [*Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we show them in daylight, they vanish forever,—as Manning, when they shot him in Neuburg, did.*] I say, this is your condition! What is your defence? What hindereth the irruption of all this upon you, to your utter destruction? Truly, 'that' you have an army in these parts,—in Scotland, in England and Ireland. Take *them* away tomorrow, would not all

[22] 'and oblige upon this account' in orig.

these Interests run into one another?—I know you are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if *this* be not the Frame, 'this' which you are now called together upon, and engaged in,—I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an Aceldama, 'a field of blood,' if this doth not? It is, without doubt, 'this:' give the glory to God; for without this, it would prove [23] as great a plague as all that hath been spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this Nation in peace and quietness.—And what is the case of your Army 'withal'? A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! [*Twenty-fifth of January.*] And yet a peaceable people, 'these soldiers;' seeking to serve you with their lives; judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of these Nations! Yea, he must be a man with a heart as hard as the weather who hath not a due sense of this! [*A severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.*]— —

So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your outward and present defence. [*This frame of Government; the Army is a part of that.*] And yet, at this day,—do but you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours of unreasonable men 'of other sorts,' in those several ways, having 'continually' made battery at this defence ever since you got to enjoy peace—[*Sentence catches fire*]— —What have they made their business but this, To spread libellous Books [*Their "Standard," "Killing no Murder," and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical Literature*]; yea and pretend the "Liberty of the Subject"—[*Sentence gone again*]—?—which really wiser men than they may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never look to see the People of England come into a just Liberty, if another 'Civil' War overtake us. I think, 'I' at least, that the thing likely to bring us into our "Liberty" is a consistency and agreement at this Meeting!—Therefore all I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to you; to uphold this Settlement 'now fallen-upon.' Which I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken else,

[23] 'it would prove' is an *im*personal verb; such as 'it will rain,' and the like.

'for my own part;' having taken this which is now the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the place I am in!

And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger—?—'A danger' which 'all manner of considerations,' besides goodnature and ingenuity 'themselves,' would move a stone to be sensible of!—Give us leave to consider a little, What will become of us, if our spirits should go *otherwise*, 'and break this Settlement'? If our spirits be dissatisfied, what will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months behind in pay; yea, an Army in Scotland near as much 'behind;' an Army in Ireland much more. And if these things be considered,—I cannot doubt but they will be considered;—I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-quarter come upon the Irish People! [*Free-quarter must come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!*] You have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, 'Forty or Fifty thousand of them settled there;' who, I hope, are honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, transplanted to the West.[24] You have the Interest of England newly begun to be planted. The people there, 'in these English settlements,' are full of necessities and complaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the soldiers run upon free-quarter there,—upon your English Planters, as they must,—the English Planters must quit the country through mere beggary: and that which hath been the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the Irish must possess the country 'again' for a receptacle to the Spanish Interest?—

And hath Scotland been long settled? [*Middleton's Highland Insurrection, with its Mosstroopery and misery, is not dead three years yet.*[25]] Have not they a like sense of poverty? I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined Nation. [*Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with themselves and with all the world.*]—And yet in a way (I have

[24] "All the Irish;" all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion: Galway is here called 'Galloway.'

[25] Feb. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).

spoken with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful enough; —it hath pleased God to give that plentiful encouragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, if it please God to encourage the meaner sort—[*The consequences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.*]— —The meaner sort 'in Scotland' live as well, and are likely to come into as thriving a condition under your Government, as when they were under their own great Lords, who made them work for their living no better than the Peasants of France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect upon that Nation: but the middle sort of people do grow up there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable, if not better than they were before. [*Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money;—prospering though sulky.*]

If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those designs that are in the midst of us: of the *united* Cavaliers; of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders and Spain; while we have to look upon ourselves as a *divided* people—[*Sentence off*]— A man cannot certainly tell where to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, and 'permit himself to' talk of things [*Roots of Constitutional Government, "Other House," "House of Lords" and suchlike*], neither to be made out by the light of Scripture nor of Reason; and draw one another off from considering of *these* things,—'which are very palpable things'! I dare leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. They have a weight,—a greater weight than any I have yet suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our case abroad and at home, That our Being and Well-being,—our Well-being is not worth the naming comparatively,— I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad, That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and through want to maintain what is our Defence at Home, 'we stand exposed to such dangers;' and if through our mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and carry-on these things—!—I confess I can look for nothing 'other,' I can say no other than what a foolish Book[26]

[26] Now rotting probably, or rotten, among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections,—all but this one phrase of it, here kept alive.

expresseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Independency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing but an "orderly confusion"! And for men that have wonderfully lost their consciences and their wits,—I speak of men going about who cannot tell *what* they would have, yet are willing to kindle coals to disturb others—! [*An "orderly confusion," and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?*]

And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to God and to you, in making this demonstration,—and I profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still unsatisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home,—who from the beginning of our Peace to this day have not been wanting to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst of us. And I say, if this be so, the truth,—I pray God affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [*Yea!*] And give you one heart and mind to carry-on this work for which we are met together! If these things be so,—should you meet tomorrow, and accord in all things tending to your preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be feared there is too much time elapsed 'already' for your delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon you!—

We have had now Six Years of Peace, and have had an interruption of Ten Years *War*. We have seen and heard and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [*Hah!*] Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall *we*, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in this world! [*Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.*[27]]—I wonder how it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy of God. We have Peace and

[27] He died in the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1660 itself, say the *Baronetages*. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

the Gospel! [*What a tone!*] Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the honest and just rights of this Nation; —not to *pretend* to them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of the Nation! [*As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be supreme. In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!*] Really, pretend what we will, if you run into *another* flood of blood and War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, be sensible of these things and lay them to heart! You have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! And may look upon them 'who would sow dissension,' whoever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth,[28] as I remember: "*Mark* such as cause divisions and offences," and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you are upon, under any pretence whatsoever!—

I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; and I did it.[29] I am not ashamed of it at any time [*Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, "word of God" as you well call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!*]—especially when I meet with men of such consideration as you. There you have one verse which I forgot. "I will hear what God the Lord will speak: for "He will speak peace unto His people and to His saints; but "let them not turn again to *folly*." Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a Civil War,—having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! Indeed if we return again to "folly," let every man consider, If it be *not* like turning to destruction? If God shall unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing of union and love one to another; and tread-down everything that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we have been saying,— [*The Sentence began as a positive, "if God shall;" but gradually turning on its axis, it has now got quite round into the negative side*], —and not prefer the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit

[28] Not 'Corinth' properly, but Rome (Romans xvi. 17).

[29] The Eighty-fifth; antea, pp. 271 et seqq.

of righteousness in them that love peace and embrace peace,—it will be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, 'It is all over with England'!

But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And while I live, and am able, I shall be ready—

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tar-barrels, can call-in its Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith,—and make out a very notable Two-hundred Years under *his* guidance; and, finding itself now nearly *got* to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say. *He* is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.]

—I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seemingly promising Union[30] which God hath wrought among you, which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able to make void. I have taken my Oath [*In Westminster Hall, Twenty-sixth of June last*] to govern "according to the Laws" that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And know, I sought not this place. [*Who would have "sought" it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures only. The "place" is no great things, I think;—with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the "place"! Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal Laws.*] I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be faithful to the Government. All those things were implied, in my eye, in the Oath "to be faithful to this Government" upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth on such an account, I shall,—I must!—see it done, according to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear to this

[30] The new Frame of Government.

Government!—[*And mean to continue administering it withal.*]—And so having declared my heart and mind to you in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God Almighty bless you.*

His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his 'concerning the state of the Public Moneys,'—was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech:[31] he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy. Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and 'I' (the Writer of *Burton's Diary*), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where Historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York House we sat together till late, 'comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech;' could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramp. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.[32]

The Copy given here is from the *Pell Papers*, and in part from an earlier Original; first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing &c., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title to remain unchanged.

SPEECH XVIII.

His Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow length day after day; daily widening itself, too, into new dreariness, new questionability: a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually *stuck* on Temple Bar! For the man in 'green oil-skin hat with nightcap under it,' the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while. And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions,

* Burton, ii. 351-71.

[31] Thursday 28th Jan. 1657-8 (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379).

[32] Burton, ii. 351.

are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed;—and there are stirrings in the Army itself;—and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue!

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong Man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced; attempts on the part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here;[33] attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was, to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhilarating to the constitutional mind!—

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, 'about eleven in the morning,'—while peppery Scott is just about to attempt yelping out some new second speech, and there are cries of "Spoken! spoken!" which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down,—arrives the Black Rod.—"The Black Rod stays!" cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott.—"What care I for the Black Rod?" snarls he: "The Gentleman" (peppery Scott) "ought to be heard."—Black Rod, however, is heard first; signifies that "His Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you." Under way therefore! "Shall we take our Mace?" By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful for you![34]

They take their Mace; range themselves in due mass, in the "Other House," Lords House, or whatever they call it; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity, says:

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and, the Lord be my witness, *I* desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the

[33] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203-4.

[34] Burton, ii. 462 et seqq.;—see also Tanner MSS. li. 1, for a more minute account.

Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness and peace,—which I desired might be improved.

That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you; who, in reference to the ancient Constitution ["*Which had Two Houses and a King,*"—*though we do not in words mention that!*], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. ["*I was a kind of Protector already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there lies the gist of the matter at present.*"] There is not a man living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman treading upon English ground. But contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into a six or seven years Peace, I did think the Nation happy therein! ["*I did think even my first Protectorate was a successful kind of thing!*"] But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the House that then had the Legislative capacity:—certainly I did look that the same men who made the Frame should make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep [*Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God 'in the cool of the evening walking among the trees:' nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your woodside, you had not been happy; not you,—with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness!—His Highness does not complain. "To have kept a flock of sheep," he says*]—rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

I did tell you, at a Conference [35] concerning it, that I would not

[35] One of the Kingship Conferences of which there is no Report.

undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a Christian and an English Interest! Men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but a new force added to you,[36] while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon these terms;—and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are omitted:—I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. [*There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.*]

Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just accord between the Governor and Governed; unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto! Upon that I took an Oath [*On the Twenty-sixth of June last*], and they [*On the Twentieth of January last, at their long Table in the Ante-room*] took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine:—and did not everyone know upon what condition he swore? God knows, *I* took it upon the conditions expressed in the 'Act of' Government! And I did think we had been upon a foundation, and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be "advised by the Two Houses of Parliament." And we standing unsettled till we arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there were not constituted "Hereditary Lords," nor "Hereditary Kings;" 'no,' the Power consisteth in the Two Houses and myself.—I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath to *you*. That were to go against my own principles, to enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge between you and me! If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion 'as to minor improvements.'

[36] 'but to themselves' however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this.

God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, That a new business hath been seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen [*'Pointing to his right hand,' says the Report*], or Lords, or whatsoever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to *you*.—You advised me to come into this place, to be in a capacity[37] by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, some must have I know not what;—and you have not only disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people might be the men that might rule all; [*Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and suchlike: very inadequate they to "rule;" inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they were not* RULED, *they!*] And they are endeavouring to engage the Army to carry that thing.—And hath that man been "true to this Nation," whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs have been made among the Army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That these things have not been according to God, nor according to truth, pretend what you will! [*No, your Highness; they have not.*] These things tend to nothing else but the playing of the King of Scots' game (if I may so call him); and I think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent it. ["*I, for my share:*" *Yea!*]

That which I told you in the Banqueting-House 'ten days ago' was true, That there are preparations of force to invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an Army at the water's side, ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are not far from this place, to stir-up the people of this Town into a tumulting—[*City Petitions are mounting very high,—as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know!*]—what if I said, Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. [*Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.*]

It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about

[37] 'of authority' is delicately understood, but not expressed.

a "Commonwealth;" but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [*What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this! Let him tremble, every joint of him;—or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world lies!*] And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion?—[*The next and final Sentence is partly on fire*]—And if this be so, I do assign 'it' to this cause: Your not assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage—[*Sentence now all beautifully blazing*], I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I DO DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT! And let God be judge between you and me!*

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company! 'The Mace was 'clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and *exit Parliamentum*,' the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.[38] "God be judge between you and me!"—"Amen!" answered they,[39] thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. "Believe me," says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, "believe me, it was of "such necessity, that if their Session had continued but two or three "days longer, all had been in blood both in City and Country, upon "Charles Stuart's account."[40]

His Highness, before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again.[41] On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them 'in a Speech two hours long' what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! "We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you!"[42]

* Burton, ii. 465-70.

[38] Ibid. ii. 464.

[39] Tradition in various modern Books (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203; Note to Burton, ii. 470); not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary witness.

[40] Hartlib in London (11th Feb. 1657-8) to Moreland at Geneva; printed in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 205.

[41] Appendix, No 31.

[42] Hartlib's Letter, ubi supra.

—It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a Talking-Apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil: An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there: you had better tell him to be gone![43]—Whereat his Lordship stared; found it a fact, however; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall; and 'in a Speech at large' explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only 'on Tuesday last;' that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening;—that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council, 'being very sensible thereof,' made zealous response[44] by speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again,—considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and 'considering,' as Thurloe says, 'that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter,' had determined that a High Court of Justice should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is accordingly nominated[45] as the Act of Parliament prescribes: among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby, long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's commission; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual, 'in St. Gregory's Church near Paul's,' to a select disaffected audience, has farther seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion;—which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable

[43] Godwin, iv. 508; Budgel's *Lives of the Boyles*, p. 49; &c.

[44] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 171).

[45] 27th April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 372-5: see also *Commons Journals*, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656).

position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it, the large body of *un*reasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists; pipe, All hands! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed: To rise that Saturday night; beat drums for 'Royalist Apprentices,' 'fire houses at the Tower,' slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized; the ringleaders of us are all seized, 'at the Mermaid in Cheapside,'—for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon! Barkstead Governor of the Tower 'marches into the City with five drakes,' at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice, and party implicated, shakes in his shoes:—and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of it to the High Court of Justice.

Tuesday 25th May 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a formidable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and-thirty heads, consisting of 'all the Judges,' chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament;—sat 'in Westminster Hall, at Nine in the morning, 'for the Trial of Sir Henry Slingsby Knight, John Hewit Doctor of 'Divinity,' and three others whom we may forget.[46] Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings also had become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even 'to take off his hat,' says Carrion Heath, 'till the officer was coming to do it for him:' 'had a 'Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne,' who is now again doing business this way;—'conducted himself not very wisely,' says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck, or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it! Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him,—perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. The Commonwealth of England and its Peace are not nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of garrisions to Charles Stuart, and reckless 'usherings of us into blood,' shall end! Hewit and

[46] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 172).

Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June; amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned; three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High Court of Justice dissolved itself; and at this and not at more expense of blood, the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again.

Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know,—one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises 'on the word of a Christian King,' had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin 'sent his coaches and guards a day's journey to meet Lockhart the Commonwealth Ambassador;' but refused to meet the Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, 'on the public road,' to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.[47] The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre,—fell into *Kinglessness*, what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-government any more; that a Government of England by *it* was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, "Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!"—and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two-hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work, going-on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream. We shall awaken; and find ourselves in a world greatly *widened*.—Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was *not* the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof!

[47] Kennet, iii. 214; Clarendon, iii. 914.

To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded-to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate 'the most invincible of Sovereigns;' young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.[48] With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed-at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a new Parliament, of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.[49] With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of Sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function: and he has manfully done it,—and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

LETTER CCXXV.

The poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous

[48] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 172-3; 15th-21st June 1658).

[49] Thurloe, vii. 84, 99, 128, &c. (April, May 1658).

pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense;—fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in *Thurloe*, which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business: but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the *Literæ Oliverii Protectoris*, there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it. The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An emphatic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself; and is very specially referred to there:

"*Serenissimo potentissimoque Principi, Ludovico Galliarum Regi.*

"SERENISSIME POTENTISSIMEQUE REX, AMICE AC FŒDERATE AUGUSTISSIME,

"*Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore inter nos de "renovando Fœdere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque "Populi commoda, multa Hostium communium exinde mala testantur), "accidisse miseram illam Convallensium Occisionem; quorum causam un- "dique desertam atque afflictam Vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ, summo "cum ardore animi ac miseratione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se "arbitramur Majestatem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro "eâ quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratiâ: Nos "certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationibus, literis, precibus "interpositis, non defuimus.*

"*Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidationem, Pax "tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior. "Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt latæ: duræ quidem illæ, "sed quibus miseri atque inopes, dira omnia atque immania perpessi, facile "acquiescerent, modò iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur. Non statur; sed "enim earum quoque singularum falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis, "fides eluditur ac violatur. Antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, Religio "Patria multis interdicitur; Tributa nova exiguntur; Arx nova cervicibus "imponitur, unde milites crebrò erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel "trucidant. Ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; "quique inter eos Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur: "ut omnia nunc rursùs videantur ad illorum internecionem miserorum "spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.*

"*Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fœdus nobiscum et "amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor, per illud Christianissimi tituli "decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tantam sœviendi licentiam, non dico "Principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum Principem, multò minus in ætatem*

"*illius Principis teneram, aut in muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia* "*cadere potest), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi* "*Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc* "*mundum ut peccatores servaret, Ejus mitissimi Nomine atque Institutis ad* "*innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur. Eripe qui potes, quique in* "*tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus,* "*qui cruore nuper ebrii sanguinem rursùs sitiunt, sucæque invidiam crude-* "*litatis in Principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec* "*Titulos tuos aut Regni fines istâ invidiâ, nec Evangelium Christi pacatis-* "*simum istâ crudelitate fœdari, te regnante patiaris. Memineris hos ipsos* "*Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedititios fuisse; cùm Diguierius* "*per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus in Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum* "*trans Alpes cedentem victor est insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum* "*in Actis Regni vestri Publicis etiamnum extat: in quo exceptum atque cautum* "*inter alia est, ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem condition-* "*ibus quibus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc* "*implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt. Tui esse quàm cujus* "*nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliquâ si fieri possit, malint atque optârint: id* "*si non licet, patrocinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio.*

"*Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te confu-* "*gientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis rationibus ad* "*defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à Majoribus datâ, pietate, regiâque* "*animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus* "*atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, et ipse Patrem Misericordiæ* "*ejusque Filium Christum Regem, cujus Nomen atque Doctrinam ab im-* "*manitate nefariâ vindicaveris, eò magis faventem tibi et propitium per* "*omnem vitam experieris.*

"*Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum hominum* "*Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum decus, Majestati* "*Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat.* '*Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus*

"'OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLIÆ,' &c.

"*Westmonasterio, Maii* '26° *die,*' *anno* 1658." [50]

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make:

"*To the most serene and potent Prince, Louis, King of France.*

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY,

"Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation "between us for the renewing of our League[51] (which many advantages "to both Nations, and much damage to their common Enemies, resulting "therefrom, now testify to have been very wisely done),—there fell out "that miserable Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on "all sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness "and pity, recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we

[50] *The Prose Works of John Milton* (London, 1833), p. 815.

[51] June 1655: antea, p. 65.

"think your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in an office "so pious and indeed so human, in so far as either by authority or favour "you might have influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and "many other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by entreaties "directed thither, have not been wanting.

"After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no age nor either "sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, under the specious "name of Peace, a certain more disguised hostility. The terms of the "Peace were settled in your Town of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as "those poor People, indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner "of cruelties and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and "unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not adhered to: those "terms are broken; the purport of every one of them is, by false inter- "pretation and various subterfuges, eluded and violated. Many of these "People *are* ejected from their old Habitations; their Native Religion is "prohibited to many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been "built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying plunder or "kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new Forces have of late been "privily got ready against them; and such as follow the Romish Religion "are directed to withdraw from among them within a limited time: so "that everything seems now again to point towards the extermination of "all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre had left.

"Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest thee, by "thy right-hand which pledged a League and Friendship with us, by the "sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian,—permit not to be done: "nor let such license of savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed "no cruelty like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less "into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the woman's "heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed Assassins, be given. "Who while they profess themselves the servants and imitators of Christ "our Saviour, who came into this world that He might save sinners, "abuse His most merciful Name and Commandments to the cruelest "slaughterings. Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation "art worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine from the hands of "Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and "think convenient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their "Prince's score. Suffer not either thy Titles and the Environs of thy "Kingdom to be soiled with that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of "Christ by that cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very "People became subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to "Protestants; when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of Savoy "across the Alps, through those same Valleys,[52] where indeed the most

[52] In 1592: Hénault, *Abrégé Chronologique* (Paris, 1774), ii. 597.

"commodious pass to Italy is. The Instrument of that their Paction "and Surrender is yet extant in the Public Acts of your Kingdom: in "which this among other things is specified and provided against, That "these People of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to "any one except on the same conditions under which thy invincible "Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised protection "they now implore; promise of thy Ancestor they now, from thee the "Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be thine rather than his whose "they now are, if by any means of exchange it could be done, they would "wish and prefer: if that may not be, thine at least by succour, by "commiseration and deliverance.

"There are likewise reasons of state which might give inducement not "to reject these People of the Valleys flying for shelter to thee: but I "would not have thee, so great a King as thou art, be moved to the "defence of the unfortunate by other reasons than the promise of thy "Ancestors, and thy own piety and royal benignity and greatness of "mind. So shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be "unmixed and clear; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, and "His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine thou shalt have "vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and propitious through the "course of life.

"May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of so many "most innocent Christian men, and for your true honour, dispose Your "Majesty to this determination. Your Majesty's most friendly

"OLIVER PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

"Westminster, 26th May 1658."

'To Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador at the French Court: These.'

SIR, 'Whitehall,' 26th May 1658.

The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion,—and that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France in their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations,—are matter of so much

grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ,—do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. Desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances. Which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish Adversaries, that,—as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the Inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient Possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together,—they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First,—They forcibly prohibit all manner of Public Exercises[53] at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind: and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified and of abilities for Ministerial Functions to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies,—their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.

3. To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys.

[53] Means 'Public Worship.'

And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.

4. And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of Commerce and Trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.

5. Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants To sell their Lands and Houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.

6. Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts; without being ever called to question, or compelled to make restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor People, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his Dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor People even at this very day. Whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders 'to' his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, To act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter,[54] which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second

[54] Milton's, given above.

and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor, with the Ambassadors of those very People, in the year 1592, by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic Copy in your own hands. Whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors To maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions.—Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that People, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his Dominions.

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.[55] Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy,—which 'Passage,' if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest,

'Your friend,'

OLIVER P.*

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony; and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there.[56] Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again 'settled,' scared away for a season, by negotiation.

[55] In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612).

* Ayscough MSS., no. 4107, f. 89.

[56] Thursday, 3d June 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 155-6).

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR.

THERE remain no more *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a Speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of February 1657-8: "God be judge between you and me!"—So was it appointed by the Destinies and the Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of; 'Speech of two hours' to his Officers in Whitehall; Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us. There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Son-in-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead.[1] He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament; while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather 'in seasonable and sympathising Letters;' for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefulest Reply;[2]—"Cannot enough confess my obligation, much less "discharge it, for your seasonable and sympathising Letters; which, "besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express such "faithful affections, and administer such Christian advices as renders them "beyond measure dear to me." Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He

[1] 16th Feb. 1657-8 (Newspapers in *Cromwelliana*, p. 170).

[2] Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11th March 1657-8; printed in *Godwin*, iv. 528.

himself died shortly after;[3] a new grief to the Protector.—The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more;—and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold Strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-Message that was in him,—have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms *there*.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years,[4] which were Fifty-nine last April. The 'Three-score and ten years,' the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and in those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life;—which, we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England. But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often 'indisposed' the spring before last. His course of life had not been favourable to health! "A burden too heavy for man!" as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared,[5] had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden.—

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the street-populations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite Daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when; lay sick now,—to death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfulest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow; pale Death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. 'She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit.' Yes:—and in the depths of the old Centuries, we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters,

[3] 19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

[4] Heath.

[5] Doctor Bates, on examination *post mortem*.

a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. 'For the last fourteen days' his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever.[6] Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River, there too is He a God of help!—On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me; I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the Name of the Lord!—

'His Highness,' says Harvey,[7] 'being at Hampton Court, 'sickened 'a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Her decease was on Friday '6th August 1658; she having lain long under great extremity of bodily 'pain, which, with frequent and violent convulsion-fits, brought her to 'her end. But as to his Highness, it was observed that his sense of her 'outward misery, in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon 'him; who indeed was ever a most indulgent and tender Father;—his 'affections' too 'being regulated and bounded by such Christian wisdom 'and prudence, as did eminently shine in filling-up not only that relation 'of a Father, but also all other relations; wherein he was a most rare 'and singular example. And no doubt but the sympathy of his spirit 'with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter' did break him down at this time; 'considering also,'—innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, 'which made me often wonder he was able to hold-up 'so long; except' indeed 'that he was borne up by a Supernatural 'Power at a more than ordinary rate. As a mercy to the truly Christian World, and to us of these Nations, had we been worthy of him!'—

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: 'At Hampton 'Court, a few days after the death of the Lady Elizabeth, which touched 'him nearly,—being then himself under bodily distempers, forerunners 'of that Sickness which was to death, and in his bedchamber,—he called 'for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, with 'others, present, To read unto him that passage in *Philippians* Fourth: '"*Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever 'state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and 'I know how to abound. Everywhere, and by all things, I am instructed; 'both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I 'can do all things, through Christ which strengtheneth me.*"[8] Which

[6] Thurloe, vii. 295 (27th July 1658).

[7] A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness; wherein is related many of his Expressions upon his Deathbed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber. (King's Pamphlets, sm. 4to, no. 792, art. 22: London, 9th June 1659.)

[8] Philippians, iv. 11, 12, 13.

'read,—said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them: '"This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest Son"' poor Robert[9] '" died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did." 'And then repeating the words of the text himself, and reading the 'tenth and eleventh verses, of Paul's contentation, and submission to the 'will of God in all conditions,—said he: "It's true, Paul, *you* have 'learned this, and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall *I* 'do? Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! I find 'it so!" But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where Paul saith, "*I* '*can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me*,"—then faith 'began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, and he said 'thus to himself, "He that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too!" And 'so drew waters out of the well of Salvation.'

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town 'one evening,' with some 'Edward Pyot' or other broadbrimmed man, espied the Protector 'at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards,' and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector 'spake lightly;' he sat down loosely 'on a table,' and 'spake light things to me,'—in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments![10] Such had been our second interview; here now is the third and last.—George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches, That George and two Friends 'going out of Town,' on a summer day, 'two of Hacker's men' had met them,—taken them, brought them to the Mews. 'Prisoners there a while:'—but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

'The same day, taking boat I went down' (*up*) 'to Kingston, and 'from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the 'Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton-Court Park; 'and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his Lifeguard, I 'saw and felt a waft' (*whiff*) 'of death go forth against him.'——Or in favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up, whenever the Commander-in-Chief required.

[9] A blank in the Pamphlet here: not 'Oliver' as hitherto supposed (see vol. i. p. 167), but 'Robert' (ibid. p. 43): see vol. i. pp. 113, 167.

[10] *Fox's Journal*, i. 381-2.

To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay-up his arms, and be gone to his rest:—all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry, for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against *him*, I think,—perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwynn Defender and Two Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George——'a 'waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked 'like a dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings of Friends before 'him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak to him, 'he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston; and, the 'next day, went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him. But 'when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the 'Doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed 'away, and never saw him more.'[11]

Friday the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, 'bastard tertian' as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court;—never to see it more.

'His time was come,' says Harvey; 'and neither prayers nor tears 'could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and continue him longer 'to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, 'both publicly and privately, as was observed, in a more than ordinary 'way. Besides many a secret sigh,—secret and unheard by men, yet 'like the cry of Moses, more loud, and strongly laying hold on God, 'than many spoken supplications. All which,—the hearts of God's 'People being thus mightily stirred up,—did seem to beget confidence in 'some, and hopes in all; yea some thoughts in himself, that God would 'restore him.'

'Prayers public and private:' they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; 'Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room;' in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident.

[11] *Fox's Journal*, pp. 485-6.

Prayers,—strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls,—who were alive then, with their affections, awestruck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be *transcendent*, hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such, since the beginning!—Truly it is a great scene of World-History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. '*So stirbt ein Held*,' says Schiller, 'So dies a Hero! 'Sight worthy to be worshipped!'—He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. 'We could not be 'more desirous he should abide,' says the pious Harvey, 'than he was 'content and willing to be gone.' The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days.—Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of last-words; and then our poor History ends.

Oliver, we find, spoke much of 'the Covenants;' which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of his. Two Covenants; one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our shortcomings therein; one of Grace and unspeakable mercy;—gracious Engagements, 'Covenants,' which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.[12] "They were "Two," he was heard ejaculating: "Two, but put into One before the "Foundation of the World!" And again: "It is holy and true, it is "holy and true, it is holy and true!—Who made it holy and true? The "Mediator of the Covenant!" And again: "The Covenant is but One. "Faith in the Covenant is my only support. And if I believe not, He "abides faithful!" When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good "that you should love this world!" No. "Children, live like Christians: "—I leave you the Covenant to feed upon!" Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful: deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they!—

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light-beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacredest this world sees;—and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. "Is

[12] Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works, among others.

"there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?" moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! "Man can do nothing," rejoins he; "God can do what He will."—Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, "Is there none that will come and praise God," whose mercies endure for ever!——

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: "Lord, Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!"—Once he was heard saying, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!"[13] 'This was spoken three times,' says Harvey; 'his repetitions usually being very weighty, and 'with great vehemency of spirit.' Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms: "A fearful thing to fall "into the hands of the Living God!"——But again: "All the promises "of God are in *Him:* yes, and in Him Amen; to the glory of God by "us,—by *us* in Jesus Christ."——"The Lord hath filled me with as "much assurance of His pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold."— "I think I am the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or "rather, am beloved of God."—"I am a conqueror, and more than a "conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!"[14]

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. 'The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers:' transcendent Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They gave his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened. Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to town from Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for headwind; had to stop at Epping.[15] On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted here?—Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal 'Liberty' to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause was so nigh!—It came; and he took the precipices, like a strong-boned resolute blind gin-horse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all!——

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sick-room and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire, Who, in case of the worst, was to be his

[13] Hebrews, x. 31.
[14] From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet.
[15] Ludlow, ii. 610-12.

Highness's Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn-up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for; it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name; but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man; might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name,—and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday night following, 'and not till then,' his Highness is understood to have formally named "Richard;"—or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden "Yes, yes!" spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's *question* "Richard?" The thing is a little uncertain.[16] It was, once more, a matter of much moment;—giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer!—

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, 'two or three days before he died,' we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Note-books. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

PRAYER.

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer:—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

'Some variation there is,' says Harvey, 'of this Prayer, as to the 'account divers give of it; and something is here omitted. But so much 'is certain, that these were his requests. Wherein his heart was so

[16] Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also *Thurloe*, vii. 375; Fauconberg's second Letter there.

'carried out for God and His People,—yea indeed for some who had 'added no little sorrow to him,' the Anabaptist Republicans, and others, —'that at this time he seems to forget his own Family and nearest 'relations.' Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. Tomorrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one, 'that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest,' was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

'"Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not"——'Then his 'speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, "He will not leave 'me." This saying, "God is good," he frequently used all along; and 'would speak it with much cheerfulness, and fervour of spirit, in the 'midst of his pains.—Again he said: "I would be willing to live to be 'farther serviceable to God and His People: but my work is done. Yet 'God will be with His People."

'He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. 'And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired To take 'the same, and endeavour to sleep.—Unto which he answered: "It is 'not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is, to make what haste 'I can to be gone."—

'Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy expressions, im-'plying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake 'some exceeding self-debasing words, *annihilating* and judging himself. 'And truly it was observed, that a public spirit to God's Cause did 'breathe in him,—as in his lifetime, so now to his very last.'

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday 3d September 1658. "The consternation and astonishment of all people," writes Fauconberg,[17] "are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor "Wife,—I know not what on earth to do with her. When seemingly "quieted, she bursts out again into a passion that tears her very heart "in pieces."—Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Life-battle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

'The storm is changed into a calm,
At His command and will;
So that the waves which raged before
Now quiet are and still!

Then are *they* glad,—because at rest
And quiet now they be:
So to the haven He them brings
Which they desired to see.'

[17] To Henry Cromwell, 7th September 1658 (*Thurloe*, vii. 375).

'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord;' blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. 'Amen, saith the Spirit,'—Amen. 'They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them.'

'Their works follow them.' As, I think, this Oliver Cromwell's works have done and are still doing! We have had our 'Revolutions of Eighty-eight,' officially called 'glorious;' and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him!—The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.—But we have to end here.

Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining, miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is *kingless*, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision; staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found;—and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender with the remnants of his Four Surplices, and Two Centuries of *Hypocrisis* (or Play-acting *not* so-called), and put-up with all that, the best we may. The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms, 'mewing her mighty youth,' as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its *other* extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other 'sheltering Fallacy' there may be, and *so* awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable. No Ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day,—in a terrible *à-posteriori* manner, if not otherwise!— —Awake before it come to that; gods and men bid us awake! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

Letter to Downhall.

[Vol. i. p. 49.]

The stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to stand 'Godfather unto my Child.' Man-child now ten days old,[1] who, as we may see, is christened 'on Thursday next' by the name of Richard,—and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To my approved good Friend Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These.

Loving Sir, Huntingdon, 14th October 1626.

Make me so much your servant as to be[2] Godfather unto my Child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation; but my occasions would not permit me: and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by

Your friend and servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

[1] Vol. i. p. 63. [2] 'by being' in orig.

* Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (London, 1771), i. 261 n.

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Down*hault*, and even Down*ett* and Down*tell;* who grounds his claim, such as it is, to human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver,—a helpful hand has, with unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall, were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April 1614 ;—had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he this same Downhall was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came thither in 1635 ; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now ; and had, alas, to be 'ejected with his Curate, in 1642,' as an Anti-Puritan Malignant :[3]—Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now ! Nay farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became 'Archdeacon of Huntingdon' in 1667 : fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's Guest and Gossip ; and now he comes as Archdeacon,—with a very strange set of *Annals* written in his old head, poor Downhall ! He died 'at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669 ;'—and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends.[4]

[3] Vol. i. p. 79.

[4] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 187; and MS. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's *History of St. John's College*), 166, 358; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix. 261 ; Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 160; Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, pp. 207, 251 ; Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 129, 130 ; Wood's *Athenæ* (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d), ii. 1179.

No. 2.

At Ely.

[Vol. i. p. 86.]

There is at Ely a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old; which in Oliver's time was named the *Ely Feoffees' Fund*, and is now known as *Parsons' Charity;* the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This *Charity* of ancient worthy Thomas *Parsons*, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more specially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill-up their own vacancies,[1]—of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years; 'have lost 40 or 50 leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.,'—leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached Papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small Entry in certain loose Papers, labelled '*The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Revenewes belonging to the Towne of Ely*' (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August* 1636 *unto the — of* — 1641:

'Given to divers Poore People at ye Work-house, in 'the presence of Mr. Archdeacon of Ely,[2] Mr. Oliver 'Cromwell, Mr. John Goodricke and others, 10th 'February 1636, as appeareth . . . . . £16 14 0.'

And under this other head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford,*' which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

'Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent . . £1 0 0.'

[1] *Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities* (London, 1837): distinct account of it there, § Cambridgeshire, pp. 218-20.

[2] One 'Wigmore;' the Dean was 'William Fuller;' the Bishop 'Matthew Wren,' very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffees in Oliver's time.

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity ;[3] —except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his. 'Mr. Hand,' as we have seen, is one of the 'Collectors,' himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

'To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These.'

MR. HAND, 'Ely,' 13th September 1638.

I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your Money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest,

Your loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Poor 'Benson' is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this :

'For phisicke and surgery for old Benson £2 7 4.'

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year :

'To Benson at divers times . . . £0 15 0.'

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man ; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

[3] Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of Ely,—now *penes* Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

* *Memoirs of the Protector*, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant &c. (London, 1822), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from *Hand's Accompts*, misdated '1641,' instead of 10th February 1636-7. The Letter to Hand 'has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years;' and is now (1846) none knows where.

No. 3.

Cambridge: Corporation (1641); Whelocke (1643).

[Vol. i. pp. 107;—118, 128.]

Two vestiges of Oliver at Cambridge, in his parliamentary and in his military capacity, there still are.

1. The first, which relates to a once very public Affair, is his Letter (his and Lowry's) to the Cambridge Authorities, in May 1641; Letter accompanying the celebrated 'Protestation and Preamble' just sent forth by the House of Commons, with earnest invitation to all constituencies to adopt the same.

'*A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons the 3d of May* 1641, *and assented unto by the Lords of the Upper House the 4th of May.*

'We, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House, in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That the designs of the Priests and 'Jesuits, and other Adherents to the See of Rome, have been of late more 'boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, 'and danger of ruin, of the True Reformed Religion in his Majesty's Dominions 'established: And finding also that there hath been, and having cause to 'suspect there still are even during the sitting in Parliament, endeavours to 'subvert the Fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce the 'exercise of an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and 'wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long intermission, and 'unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occasioned many illegal Taxations, 'whereupon the Subjects have been prosecuted and grieved: And that divers 'Innovations and Superstitions have been brought into the Church; multitudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions; jealousies raised and fomented 'between the King and People; a Popish Army levied in Ireland,[1] and Two 'Armies brought into the bowels of this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's 'royal Person, the consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure 'of this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that endeavours[2] 'have been and are used to bring the English Army into misunderstanding 'of this Parliament, thereby to incline that Army by force to bring to pass 'those wicked counsels,—

'Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of our united 'affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

[1] By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprises.

[2] This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: 'finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have' &c. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the original.

'PROTESTATION.

'I, A. B., do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow and protest, 'To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power and 'estate, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine 'of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations, and 'according to the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour 'and Estate: as also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, the Lawful Rights 'and Liberties of the Subjects; and every Person that maketh this Protesta- 'tion in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to 'my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and 'means endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such as shall, by force, 'practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do anything to the contrary 'in this present Protestation contained.

'And farther I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve 'the union and peace betwixt the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and 'Ireland; and neither for hope, fear nor other respect, shall relinquish this 'Promise, Vow and Protestation.'[3]

This is on Monday 3d May 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palaceyard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Monday, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it,—not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wednesday 5th May, there is this Order:

'*Ordered*, That the Protestation made by the Members of this House, with the 'Preamble, shall be together printed;' Clerk to attest the copies; all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and 'intimate with what willingness the Members made this 'Protestation; and that as they justify the taking of it in themselves, so they 'cannot but approve it in them that shall likewise take it.'

Strict *Order*, at the same time, That all Members 'now in Town and not sick shall appear here Tomorrow at Eight of Clock,' and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be 'accounted a contempt of this House,' and expose one to be expelled, or worse;—in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even 'Philip Warwick' and 'Endymion Porter' have signed: whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell.[4]—This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

[3] *Commons Journals*, ii. 132 (3d May 1641).
[4] Ibid. ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv. 241 et seqq.

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that Body: Present these.

GENTLEMEN, 'London, 8th' May 1641.

We heartily salute you; and herewith, according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, send unto you a Protestation;—the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The Preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them, in their own persons, to begin 'making it.'

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the Members of that Body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the Body Represented avow the practice of the Representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole Kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to the affection due to our Country and Liberties,—the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

We say no more: but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours,—which indeed are not ours, but the Lord's and yours. Whom we desire to serve in integrity: and bidding you heartily Farewell, rest,

Your loving friends to be commanded,

OLIVER CROMWELL.
JOHN LOWRY.*

2. The second is a small antiquarian relic (date, Spring 1643); dim and of little worth in its detached form, but capable of lighting itself up, and the reader's fancy along with it, when set in the right combination.

'Mr. Abraham Whelocke,' whose name and works are still well enough known, was, later in that century, 'the celebrated Professor of Arabic at Oxford;' and is now, we perceive, in this Spring 1643, a Student at Cambridge; of meditative peripatetic habits; often walking into the country with a little Arabic Volume in his pocket:—apt to be fluttered at the Town Gates by these new military arrangements. In this difficulty he calls on Colonel Cromwell; and—But his little Volume itself is still extant, and tells its own story and

* Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 311. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector*, i. 406.

his. A thin duodecimo, in white hogskin binding now grown very brown; size handy for the smallest coat-pocket:—and on the fly-leaf, in Oliver's hand, stands written (signed successively by three other Committee-men whom Whelocke would soon search out for the feat):

4th April 1643.

Suffer the Bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, to pass your guards so often as he shall have occasion, into and out of Cambridge, towards Little Shelford or any other place; and this shall be your warrant.

THO. COOKE. OLIVER CROMWELL.*
EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

* Whelocke's Arabic Volume (a version into Arabic of one of Bellarmin's Books, by some Armenian Patriarch, for benefit of the Heathen, Rome, 1627,—with slight marks of Whelocke on the other fly-leaves): Volume now in the possession of Dr. Lee, Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, who has kindly given me sight of it.—Next year, under this Pass of Oliver's, lower half of the same fly-leaf, there is a Renewal of it, or Copy in almost precisely the same terms, written and signed by the Earl of Manchester (in ink now grown very pale, while Oliver's has changed to strong red-brown), of date '27th February 1643'-4, when his Lordship again for a time (see antea, vol. i. p. 161) had become chief Authority in Cambridge. (*Note of* 1857.)

No. 4.

Eastern Association: Threatened Rising of Papists in Norfolk.

[Vol. i. p. 116.]

Two Committee-Letters, both of Oliver's writing; illustrations of his diligent procedure in the birth-time of the Eastern Association.

To our noble Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, 'Sir' John Spelman, Knights and Baronets, and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of Norfolk: Present these.

Gentlemen, 'Cambridge, 26th January 1642.'

The Parliament and the Lord General have taken into their care the peace and protection of these Eastern parts of the Kingdom; and to that end have sent down hither some part of their Forces,—as likewise a Commission, with certain Instructions to us and others directed; all which do highly concern the peace and safety of your County. Therefore we entreat that some of you would give us a meeting at Mildenhall[1] in Suffolk, on Tuesday the 31st of this instant January. And in the mean time that you would make all possible speed to have in a readiness, against any notice shall be given, a considerable force of Horse and Foot to join with us, to keep any Enemy's force from breaking-in upon your yet peaceable Country. For we have certain intelligence that some of Prince Rupert's forces are come as far as Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and that the Papists in Norfolk are solicited to rise presently upon you.

Thus presenting all our neighbourly and loving respects, we rest,

Your respective friends to serve you,

	Miles Sandys.
Terrell Jocelyn.	Franc. Russell.
Willm. Marche.	Oliver Cromwell.
Edw. Clenche.	Thomas Symons.
James Thompson.	Robert Clerke.*

To our worthy Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Spelman, Knights and Baronets. Present these:

Gentlemen, Cambridge, 27th January 1642.

The grounds of your Jealousies are real. They concur with our intelligences from Windsor; the sum whereof we give unto you:

[1] 'Millnall' he writes.

* Original in Tanner mss. lxiv. 116.

From a prisoner taken by Sir Samuel Luke (one Mr. Gandy, a Captain of Dragooners) this confession was drawn, That the Papists by direction from Oxford should rise in Norfolk. Whereupon it was desired from thence That Sir Henry Benningfield and Mr. Gandy, their persons should be seized, and that we should do our endeavour to make stay of the Person and Letter which contained this encouragement to them,—he being described by his horse and clothes. But we believe 'he' was past us before we had notice, for our Scouts could not light on him.

As for the other consideration of his Majesty's forces being invited into these parts, we have confirmation thereof from all hands;—and there is this reason to doubt it will be so, Because his Majesty is weary of Oxford; there being little in those parts left to sustain his Army,—and surely the fulness of these parts and fitness of them for Horse are too-too good arguments to invite him hither. Thus we agree in the grounds of our doubt and fear.

The next thought is of Remedy. And in this we account it our happiness to consult with you of common safety, to be had either by the Association you speak of, or by [2] any other consideration by communication of assistance, according to necessity. Wherein I hope you shall find all readiness and cheerfulness in us, to assist you to break any strength that shall be gathered; or to prevent it, if desired,—having timely notice given from you thereof. The way will be best settled, if you give us a meeting, according to our desire by a Letter particularly prepared [3] before we received yours, and now sent unto you for that purpose together with these.

This is all we can say for the present; but that we are,

Your friends and servants,

Miles Sandys.

Thom. Martyn.	Franc. Russell.	Terrell Jocelyn.
Oliver Cromwell.	Thos. Symons.	
Willm. Marche.	Robert Clerke.	
Edw. Clenche.	James Thompson.	

'P.S.' We sent to Sir William Spring to offer him our assistance for the apprehension of Sir H. Benningfield, &c. We have not yet received any answer.—We knew not how to address ourselves to you. It's our desire to assist you in that or any other public service.*

[2] Comes to the end of the sheet, and turns to the margin.

[3] Preceding Letter, seemingly, or rather Copy of it.

* Original, in Cromwell's own hand throughout, in Tanner mss. lxiv. 129.

No. 5.

Gainsborough Fight.

[Vol. i. p. 140.]

Here are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; Two Letters upon it that have successively turned up.

1. The first is a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and two chief Lincolnshire Committee-men, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or 'Ayscoghe' as he here signs himself,—probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of the 'Captain Ayscoghe' mentioned here,—he and John Broxholme, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee,[1] are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

"*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament: These.*

"Lincoln, 29th July 1643 (Six o'clock at night).

"Noble Sir,—We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces towards the "raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint a general rendezvous at "North Scarle to be upon Thursday the 27th of July. To the which place, "Sir John Meldrum with about Three-hundred Horse and Dragoons, and "Colonel Cromwell with about Six or Seven Troops of Horse and about One-"hundred Dragoons, came. With these they marched towards Gainsborough; "and meeting with a good party of the Enemy about a mile from the Town, "beat them back,—but not with any commendations to our Dragoons. We "advanced still towards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which "is upon a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops had the van, "two Northampton, and three small Troops of Nottingham the battle, and "Colonel Cromwell the rear; the Enemy in the mean time with his body "keeping the top of the Hill.

"Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; which were "opposed by a force of the Enemy; but our men repelled them, until all our "whole body was got up the Hill. The Enemy kept his ground; which he "chose for his best advantage, with a body of Horse of about Three Regiments "of Horse, and a reserve behind them consisting of General Cavendish his "Regiment, which was a very full regiment. We presently put our Horse in

[1] Husband, ii. 171.

"order; which we could hardly do by reason of the cony-holes and the difficult "ascent up the Hill; the Enemy being within musket-shot of us, and advancing "towards us before we could get ourselves into any good order. But with "those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater body of the Enemy; "came-up to the sword's point; and disputed it so a little with them, that our "men pressing heavily upon them, they could not bear it, but all their Body "ran away, some on the one side of their Reserve, others on the other. Divers "of our Troops pursuing had the chase about six miles.

"General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the while, and "facing some of our Troops that did not follow the chase,—Colonel Cromwell, "with his Major Whalley and one or two Troops more, were following the "chase, and were in the rear of that Regiment. When they saw the body stand "unbroken, 'they' endeavoured, with much ado, to get into a body those three "or four Troops which were divided. Which when they had done,—perceiving "the Enemy to charge two or three of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and to "make them retire by reason of their being many more than they in number; "and the rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase,—Colonel "Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the rear; brake this Regi- "ment; and forced their General, with divers of their men, into a quagmire "in the bottom of the Hill. Where one of Colonel Cromwell his men cut "General Cavendish on the head; by reason whereof he fell off his horse; and "the Colonel's [2] Captain-Lieutenant thrust him into the side, whereof within "two hours he died;—the rest chasing his Regiment quite out of the field, "having execution of them, so that the field was left wholly unto us, not a "man appearing. Upon this, divers of our men went into the Town, carrying- "in to my Lord Willoughby some of the Ammunition we brought for him;— "believing that our work was at an end; saving to take care how to bring "farther provisions into the Town, to enable it to stand a siege in case my "Lord Newcastle should draw-up with his Army to attempt it.

"Whilst we were considering of these things, word was brought us That "there was a small remainder of the Enemy's force not yet meddled with, "about a mile beyond Gainsborough, with some Foot, and two pieces of "Ordnance. We having no Foot, desired to have some out of the Town; "which my Lord Willoughby granted, and sent us about Six-hundred Foot: "with these we advanced towards the Enemy. When we came thither to the "top of the hill, we beat divers Troops of the Enemy's Horse back: but at the "bottom we saw a Regiment of Foot; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's "own Regiment, consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many "Horse;—which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so unexpectedly, "we advised what to do.

"Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, and to draw-off "the Horse. By the time he came to them, the Enemy was marching up the "hill. The Foot did retire disorderly into the Town, which was not much "above a quarter of a mile from them; upon whom the Enemy's Horse did "some small execution. The Horse also did retire in some disorder, about "half a mile,—until they came to the end of a field where a passage was; "where, by the endeavour of Colonel Cromwell, 'of' Major Whalley and

[2] Original has 'his;' and for 'General Cavendish' in the foregoing line 'him.'

"Captain Ayscoghe, a body was drawn up. With these we faced the Enemy; "stayed their pursuit; and opposed them with about four Troops of Colonel "Cromwell's and four Lincoln Troops; the Enemy's body in the mean time "increasing very much from the Army. But such was the goodness of God, "giving courage and valour to our men and officers, that whilst Major Whalley "and Captain Ayscoghe, sometimes the one with four Troops faced the Enemy, "sometimes the other, to the exceeding glory of God be it spoken, and the "great honour of those two Gentlemen, they with this handful forced the "Enemy so, and dared them to their teeth in at the least eight or nine several "removes,—the Enemy following at their heels; and they, though their horses "were exceedingly tired, retreating in order, near carbine-shot of the Enemy, "who thus followed them, firing upon them; Colonel Cromwell gathering-up "the main body and facing them behind those two lesser bodies,—that, in "despite of the Enemy, we brought-off our Horse in this order, without the "loss of two men.

"Thus have you a true relation of this notable service: wherein God is to "have all the glory. And care must be taken speedily to relieve this noble "Lord from his and the State's Enemies, by a speedy force sent unto us,—and "that without any delay; or else he will be lost, and that important Town, "and all those parts; and way made for this Army instantly to advance into "the South. Thus resting upon your care in speeding present Succours hither, "we humbly take our leaves, and remain,

Your humble servants,

"Edw. Ayscoghe.
"Jo. Broxolme.
"Oliver Cromwell."[3]

2. The Second Letter, the Original of which still exists, is of much greater interest; being from Cromwell's own hand, and evidently thrown-off in a quite familiar and even hasty fashion. Written, as would appear, on the march from Lincoln to Huntingdon; no mention precisely where; but probably at the Army's quarters on the evening of their first day's march homewards. In the original the *surname* of the 'Sir John' to whom the Letter addresses itself has been, probably by some royalist descendant (of mixed emotions), so industriously crossed out with many strokes of the pen, that not only is it entirely illegible, but the polite possessor of the Autograph cannot undertake to guess for me how many letters may have been in the word. On other grounds I pretty confidently undertake, nevertheless, to read *Wray:* Sir John Wray of Glentworth, Member for Lincolnshire, and on the Committee of that County; at present, I suppose, attending his duty in London. Glentworth House is almost within sight and sound of these transactions; the well-affected Knight of the Shire, for many reasons, may fitly hear a word of them, while we rest from our march. Sir John's Mother, I find by the Dryasdust records[4] was a Montague of Boughton; so that 'your noble Kinsman' near the end of this Letter will mean my Lord of Manchester, 'Sergeant-Major of the Association,' a man well qualified to give information.

[3] Tanner MSS. lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, Baker MSS. xxviii. 434.
[4] Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*, § Wray.

To my noble Friend Sir John 'Wraye,' Knight and Baronet: Present these.

SIR, 'Eastern Association,' 30th July 1643.

The particular respects I have received at your hands do much oblige me, but the great affection you bear to the public much more: for that cause I am bold to acquaint you with some late Passages wherein it hath pleased God to favour us;—which, I am assured, will be welcome to you.

After Burleigh House was taken, we went towards Gainsborough to a general rendezvous, where met us Lincolnshire Troops; so that we were Nineteen or Twenty Troops, when we were together, of Horse and Foot, and about Three or Four Troops of Dragooners. We marched with this force to Gainsborough. Upon Friday morning, being the 28th of July, we met with a forlorn-hope of the Enemy, and with our men brake it in. We marched on to[5] the Town's end. The Enemy being upon the top of a very steep Hill over our heads, some of our men attempted to march up that Hill; the Enemy opposed; our men drove them up, and forced their passage. By the time[6] we came up, we saw the Enemy well set in two bodies: the foremost a large fair body, the other a reserve consisting of six or seven brave Troops. Before we could get our force into order, the great body of the Enemy advanced; they were within musket-shot of us when we came to the pitch of the Hill: we advanced likewise towards them; and both charged, each upon the other: Thus advancing, we came to pistol and sword's point, both in that close order that it was disputed very strongly who should break the other. But our men pressing a little heavily upon them, they began to give back; which our men perceiving, instantly forced them,—brake that whole body; some of them flying on this side, some on the other side, of the reserve. Our men, pursuing them in great disorder, had the execution about four, or some say six miles. With much ado, this done, and all their force being gone, not one man standing, but all beaten out of the field,—we drew-up our body together, and kept the field,—the half of our men being well worn in the chase of the Enemy.

Upon this we endeavoured the Business we came for; which was the relief of the Town with Ammunition. We sent-in some Powder, which was the great want of that Town. Which done, word was brought us that the Enemy had about Six Troops of Horse, and Three-hundred Foot, a little on the other side of the Town. Upon this we drew some musketeers out of the Town, and with our body of horse marched towards them. We saw two Troops towards the Mill; which my men drove down into a little village at the bottom of the Hill: when *we* [*we*

[5] Means 'towards' [6] 'that time' in orig.

emphatic] came with our horse to the top of that Hill, we saw in the bottom a whole regiment of Foot, after that another and another,—and, as some counted, about Fifty Colours of Foot. Which indeed was my Lord Newcastle's Army;—with which he now besieges Gainsborough.

My Lord Willoughby commanded me to bring-off the Foot and Horse: which I endeavoured; but the Foot (the Enemy pressing on with the Army) retreated in some disorder into the Town, being of that Garrison. Our Horse also, being wearied, and unexpectedly pressed by this new force, so great,—gave off, not being able to brave the charge. But, with some difficulty, we got our Horse into a body, and with them faced the Enemy; and retreated in such order that though the Enemy followed hard, they were not able to disorder us, but we got them off safe, to Lincoln, from this fresh force, and lost not one man. The honour of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ayscough, next under God.

This Relation I offer you for the honour of God (to whom be all the praise); as also to let you know you have some servants faithful to you, to incite to action. I beseech you let this good success quicken your countrymen to this engagement! It's great evidence of God's favour. Let not your business be starved. I know, if all be of your mind, we shall have an honourable return. It's your own business:—a reasonable strength now raised speedily may do that which much more will not do after some time. Undoubtedly, if they succeed here, you will see them in the bowels of your Association! 'As' for the time, you will hear it from your noble Kinsman and Colonel Palgrave: if we be not able in ten days to relieve Gainsborough, a noble Lord will be lost, many good Foot, and a considerable Pass over Trent in these parts.—The Lord prosper your endeavours and ours. I besecch you present my humble service to the high Honourable Lady.

Sir, I am

Your faithful servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

P.S.—I stayed, 'from the chase after our first encounter,' two of my own Troops, and my Major stayed his; in all three. There were in front of the Enemy's reserve three or four of the Lincoln Troops yet unbroken: the Enemy charged those Troops; utterly broke and chased them; so that none of the Troops on our part stood, but my three. Whilst the Enemy was following our flying Troops, I charged him on the rear with my three Troops; drove him down the Hill, brake him all to pieces; forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a Bog, who fought in this

reserve: one Officer cut him on the head; and, as he lay, my Captain-Lieutenant Berry thrust him into the short ribs, of which he died, about two hours after, in Gainsborough.*

By this Postscript is at last settled the question, Who killed Charles Cavendish? It was 'my Captain-Lieutenant Berry;' he and no other, if any one still wish to know. Richard Baxter's friend once; and otherwise a known man.

* Original in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., Great Yarmouth; printed in *Papers of Norfolk Archæological Society* (Norwich, Jan. 1848), pp. 45-50.

No. 6.

Letter two Days prior to that Cambridge one.

[Vol. i. p. 162.]

'To Sir Samuel Luke' (Member for Bedford, leading Committee-man, &c.): 'These.'

Noble Sir, [No date of Place] 8 March 1643.

I beseech you cause Three-hundred Foot, under a Captain, to march to Buckingham upon Monday morning, there to quarter with Four-hundred Foot of Northampton, which Mr. Crew sends thither upon Monday next. There will be the Major-General 'Crawford' to command them. I am going for a Thousand Foot more at least to be sent from Cambridge and out of the Associations. If any man be come to you from Cambridge, I beseech you send him to me to Bedford with all speed; let him stay for me at the Swan. Sir, I am

Your humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

Present my humble service to Colonel Aylife, and tell him he promised me his coat of mail.*

* Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History* (London, 1846), iv. 225.

No. 7.

Two Letters: Action at Islip-Bridge and Bletchington. Ditto at Bampton-in-the-Bush.

[Vol. i. pp. 180, 183.]

1. Written the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

'For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: These.'

Right Honourable, 'Bletchington,' 24th April 1645.

I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming-up of the Body of Horse, which your Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts),—of the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. Who himself informed me by letters, That Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that,—as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of my letter,—there were Twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and wagons, ready for their march; and in another place Five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy.

After I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning,—being Thursday the twenty-fourth of April,—near to Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; who perceiving it at Oxford, and being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment;—who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon I drew forth your Honour's Regiment,—lately mine own,—against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons,

to be ready for action);—and commanded your Honour's own Troop therein, to charge a Squadron of the Enemy. Who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion. And the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy; and had the chase of them three or four miles;—and killed Two-hundred; took as many prisoners, and about Four-hundred Horses. 'Also' the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought all about in gold, with a golden cross on the top.—Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned.

Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington; where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near Two-hundred horse and foot therein. Which, after surrounding it, I summoned:—but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of Surrender,—which I have sent your Honour enclosed:[1]—and after a large treaty thereupon, the Surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between Two and Three hundred muskets, Seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition.—I humbly rest,

Your honour's humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. A few months since, in 1868, there has incidentally turned up, among the *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, and been reawakened into daylight and publicity, from its dark sleep of 223 years, the 'contemporaneous Copy' of a Letter by Oliver himself; which curiously adjusts itself to its old combination here, completely elucidating for us those small Bletchington-Bampton transactions; and is of itself otherwise worth reading. It is of date the day *before* that Farringdon Affair.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Both Kingdoms, at Derby House.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, 'Farringdon,' April 28th, 1645.

Since my last it has pleased God to bless me with more success in your service. In pursuance of your commands I marched from Bletchington to Middleton Stonies, and from thence towards Witney, as privately as I could, believing that to be a good place for interposing between the King and the West, whether he intended Goring and Grenville, or the two Princes.

In my march I was informed of a body of foot which were marching towards Farringdon; which indeed were a commanded party of three

[1] Given in Rushworth, vi. 24. * King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 203, § 7.

hundred, which came a day before from Farringdon, under Colonel Richard Vaughan, to strengthen Woodstock against me, and were now returning.

I understood they were not above three-hours march before me. I sent after them. My forlorn overtook them as they had gotten into enclosures not far from Bampton Bush, and skirmished with them. They killed some of my horses, mine killed and got some of them; but they recovered the town ('*Bampton*, i. e.') before my body came up, and my forlorn not being strong enough was not able to do more than they did. The Enemy presently barricaded-up the town, got a pretty strong house: my body coming up about eleven in the night, I sent them a summons. They slighted it. I put myself in a posture that they should not escape me, hoping to deal with them in the morning. My men charged them up to their barricades in the night; but truly they were of so good resolution that we could not force them from it; and indeed they killed some of my horses, and I was forced to wait until the morning: besides they had got a pass over a brook. In the night they strengthened themselves as well as they could in the storehouse. In the morning I sent a drum to them; but their answer was, they would not quit except they might march out upon honourable terms. The terms I offered were, to submit all to mercy. They refused with anger. I insisted upon them, and prepared to storm. I sent them word to desire them to deliver out the gentleman and his family; which they did; for they must expect extremity, if they put me to a storm. After some time spent, all was yielded to mercy. Arms I took, muskets near 200, besides other arms, about two barrels of powder, soldiers and officers near 200. Nine score besides officers, the rest being scattered and killed before. The chief prisoners were Colonel Sir Richard Vaughan, Lieutenant-Colonel Littleton, and Major Lee, two or three Captains, and other Officers.

As I was upon my march, I heard of some horse of the Enemy which crossed me towards Evesham. I sent Colonel Fiennes after them; whom God so blessed that he took about thirty prisoners, 100 horse, and three horse colours. Truly his diligence was great; and this I must testify, that I find no man more ready to all services than himself. I would not say so, if I did not find it: if his men were at all considered, I should hope you might expect very real service from them. I speak this the rather because I find him a gentleman of that fidelity to you, and so conscientious, that he would all his troop were as religious and civil as any, and makes it a great part of his care to get them so.

In this march my men also got one of the Queen's troopers, and of them and others about 100 horses. This morning Colonel John Fiennes sent me in the gentleman that waits upon the Lord Digby in his chamber,

who was going to General Goring about exchange of a prisoner. He tells me the King's forces were drawn out the last night to come to relieve Sir Richard Vaughan, and Legge commanded them; they were about 700 horse and 500 foot; but I believe they are gone back. He saith many of the horse were volunteer gentlemen; for I believe I have left him few others here.

I looked upon his letters, and found them directed to Marlborough. He tells me Goring is about the Devizes. I asked him what farther orders he had to him. He tells me he was only to bid him follow former orders. I pressed him to know what they were; and all that I could get was, that it was to hasten with all he had up to the King to Oxford. He saith he has about 3000 horse and 1000 foot; that he is discontented that Prince Rupert commanded away his foot.

I am now quartered up to Farringdon. I shall have an eye towards him. I have that which was my regiment, and a part of Colonel Sydney's five troops 'that' were re-created, and a part of Colonel Vermuyden's, and five troops of Colonel Fiennes's; three whereof and Sir John 'Browne's'[2] and Captain Hammond's I sent with the first prisoners to Aylesbury. It's great pity we want dragoons. I believe most of their petty garrisons might have been taken in, and other services done; for the Enemy is in high fear. God does terrify them. It's good to take the season; and surely God delights that you have endeavoured to reform your armies; and I beg it may be done more and more. Bad men and discontented say it's faction. I wish to be of the faction that desires to avoid the oppression of the poor people of this miserable Nation, upon whom who can look without a bleeding heart? Truly it grieves my soul, our men should still be upon free quarters, as they are. I beseech you help it what and as soon as you can. My Lords, pardon me this boldness; it is because I find in these things wherein I serve you, that He does all. I profess His very hand has led me. I preconsulted none of these things.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I wait your farther pleasure, subscribing myself,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[2] Orig. illegible.

* *Notes and Queries*, 8 Aug. 1868;—printed there, as I learn on inquiry, 'from a contemporaneous Copy' found among the House of Lords MSS. in the course of some official examination going on there: corrected and investigated into clearness for me by the kindness of John Forster, Esq., most obliging of Friends, whose final remark on it is: 'As to Farringdon' (Letter xxvii. of Text), 'though Cromwell had now crossed the river, 'and was quartered up to the place, he was not in adequate force for reducing it. "It's 'great pity we want dragoons," is his remark in this Letter; and, according to Rush-'worth's statement, he had already sent to Abingdon for four or five companies of 'infantry. Burgess knew very well, there is little doubt, the real state of affairs.' (*Note of* 1869.)

No. 8.

Battle of Naseby. Burial of Colonel Pickering. Two Letters concerning Ely.

[Vol. i. pp. 85, 189, 207.]

(*a.*) The following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

'*Battle of Naseby*, 14th June 1645: *From Sprigge* (London, 1647); *Rush-*'*worth*, vi. (London, 1701); *Old Pamphlets; and the Ground.*

'*Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby* (Sprigge, p. 30 et seqq.). Wednesday 11th 'June, a rainy day: Marched "from Stony Stratford to Wootton,"—three 'miles south of Northampton. Bad quarters there: "but the Mayor came," '&c.—Thursday 12th June: From Wootton to (not "Guilsborough four miles 'west of Northampton," as Sprigge writes, but evidently) Kislingbury and the 'Farmsteads round. The King "lies encamped on Burrough Hill" (five miles 'off); has been "hunting," this day: "his horses all at grass." The night 'again wet; Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy is stopped by one of 'his own sentries, &c.: "at Flower" (near Weedon), sees the King's Forces all 'astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the morning; "firing their huts;" 'rapidly making off,—Northward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. 'Cromwell, greatly to our joy, has just come-in from the Associated Counties, '—"received with shouts." Major Harrison, with horse, is sent towards 'Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with horse, to the Northward, after the 'King's main-body. "We," Fairfax's main-body, now set forward "towards 'Harborough," flanking the King; and that night,—Friday 13th June,—arrive '(not at "Gilling," as Sprigge has it,—is there any such place?—but) at 'Guilsborough.[1] Which is the last of the *Stages*.

'The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; his rear is 'quartered in Naseby,—where Ireton beats them up (probably about half-past 'nine), "taking prisoners," &c: and so the fugitives rouse the King out of his 'bed "at Lubenham;"[2]—who thereupon drives-off to Prince Rupert at Har-'borough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council ("resting himself in a chair 'in a low room," till Rupert and the rest get on their clothes); and there, after 'debate,[3] determines on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront.—

[1] Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).
[2] See *Iter Carolinum* too. [3] See Clarendon, &c.

'Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; "we" (Fairfax and the Army), at Guils-'borough, all this night.

'*Battle of Naseby.* Saturday 14th June 1645. Starting at three in the 'morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King "reported to be at Har-'borough," uncertain whitherward next: behold, "great bodies of his troops 'are *seen* coming over the Hill from Harborough towards us;"—he has turned, 'and is for fighting us, then! We put our Army in order,—"large fallow field 'northwest of Naseby," "the brow of the Hill running east and west" "for 'something like a mile:" King has sunk out of sight in a hollow; but comes 'up again nearer us,[4] and now evidently drawn-out for battle. We fall back, '"about a hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill," to hide ourselves and 'our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run ("much of his ordnance 'left behind"): the Battle joins on the very brow of the Hill. Their word, '*Queen Mary;* ours, *God is our Strength.*

'About Three-hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, are advanced 'a little, as a forlorn, down the *steep* of the Hill; they retire firing, as Rupert 'charges up: Ireton and Skippon command in this quarter; "Lantford 'Hedges," a kind of thicket which runs right down the Hill, is lined with 'Colonel Okey and his dragoons,—all on *foot* at present, and firing lustily on 'Rupert as he gallops past.—Cromwell is on the extreme Right (easternmost 'part of the Hill): he, especially Whalley under him, dashes down *before* the 'Enemy's charge upwards (which is led by Langdale) can take effect; scatters 'said charge to the winds; not without hard cutting: a good deal impeded '"by furze-bushes" and "a cony-warren." *These* Royalist Horse, Langdale's, 'fled all behind their own Foot, "a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground,"—'*i.e.* near to the present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and Clipstow;—'and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to keep *them* in check; 'and aid his own Main-battle to the left of him: which he diligently did.

'Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert, on the other side 'of the field, beats back our Left:—over "Rutput Hill," "Fenny Hill" (*Fanny* 'Hill, as the Old Books call it); towards Naseby Hamlet; on to our Baggage-'train (which stands on the *northwest side* of the Hamlet, *eastward* of said '"Rutput" and "Fenny," but northward of "Leane Leafe Hill," very sober '"Hills," I perceive!). Our extreme Left was "hindered by pits and ditches" 'in charging; at any rate, it lost the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to 'attacking the Baggage and its Guard,—in vain, and with very wasteful delay. 'For our Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have been overset, 'at this moment. Our Main-battle,—our Horse on the Left of it giving way; 'and the King's Foot "coming up into sight," over the brow of the Hill, '"with one terrible volley," and then with swords and musket-butts,—'"mostly all fled." Mostly all: except the Officers, who "snatched the 'colours," "fell into the Reserves with them," &c. And then, said Reserves 'now rushing on, and the others rallying to them; and Cromwell being 'victorious and diligent on the Right, and Rupert idle among the Baggage on 'the Left,—the whole business was erelong *retrieved;* and the King's Foot and 'other Force were all driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust Hill (or '*eastward* of the present Farm-house, I think). There the King still stood,—

[4] 'At Sibbertoft' (Rushworth).

'joined at last by Rupert, and struggling to rally his Horse for another brush; 'but the Foot would not halt, the Foot were all off: and the Horse too, seeing 'Cromwell with all *our* Horse and victorious Foot now again ready for a second 'charge, would not stand it; but broke; and dissipated, towards Harborough, 'Leicester, and Infinite Space.

'The Fight began at ten o'clock;[5] lasted three hours:[6] there were some 'Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I cannot tell.'

(*b.*) Colonel Pickering, a distinguished Officer, whose last notable exploit was at the storm of Basing House, has caught the epidemic, 'new disease' as they call it, some ancient *influenza* very prevalent and fatal during those wet winter-operations; and after a few days' illness, 'at Autree' (St. Mary *Ottery*) where the headquarter was, is dead. Sir Gilbert, his brother, is a leading man in Parliament, with much service yet before him;—Cousin Dryden, one day to be Poet Dryden, is in Northamptonshire, a lad of fourteen at present. Sprigge (p. 156) has a pious copy of 'sorrowful verse over dear Colonel Pickering's hearse;' and here is a Note concerning his funeral.

To Colonel Cisely, at Pendennis Castle: These.

SIR, Tiverton, 10th December 1645.

It's the desire of Sir Gilbert Pickering that his deceased Brother, Colonel Pickering, should be interred in your Garrison; and to the end his Funeral may be solemnised with as much honour as his memory calls for, you are desired to give all possible assistance therein. The particulars will be offered to you by his Major, Major Jubbs,[7] with whom I desire you to concur herein.

And believe it, Sir, you will not only lay a huge obligation upon myself and all the Officers of this Army, but I dare assure you the General himself will take it for an especial favour, and will not let it go without a full acknowledgment.—But what need I prompt him to so honourable an action whose own ingenuity will be argument sufficient herein? Whereof rests assured

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

(*c.*) A Couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

[5] Clarendon. [6] Cromwell's Letter. [7] 'Gubbs' he writes.

* Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections* (London, 1826), i. 22: with a Note on Cicely, and reference to 'the Original among the Family Papers of the Rev. G. Moore, of Grampound.'

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the 'Fortifications' going on there.[8]

'To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These.'

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD, Huntingdon, 6th June 1645.

I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made about the gravel,[9] and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work; all storm-ground[10] stuff. Tell Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards.—Not having more, I rest,

Yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. 'Sir Dudley North,' Baronet, of Catlidge Hall near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London;—is wanted now for a small County business.

The '30th of March,' as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver,—I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things,—takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes '1646.' As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,[11] will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: 'John Hobart 'Esq. dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon Shires, and '*Tristram Diamond Esq. appointed in his place*, 1st January 1646,' which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These.

SIR, 'London,' 30th March 1646 [*error for* 1647].

It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely,—with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow, added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live,—I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

[8] *Commons Journals*, iv. 161, 5; *Cromwelliana*, p. 16.

[9] Word uncertain to the Copyist. [10] Ibid.

* Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol.

[11] v. 36 (1st Jan. 1646-7).

† Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Pakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

No. 9.

Langport Battle (10th July 1645). Summons to Winchester.

[Vol. i. p. 205.]

Here is Oliver's own account of the Battle of Langport, mentioned in our Text:

'*To* —— ——.'

Dear Sir, 'Langport, — July 1645.'

I have now a double advantage upon you, through the goodness of God, who still appears for us. And as for us, we have seen good things in this last mercy,—it is not inferior to any we have had;—as followeth.

We were advanced to Long-Sutton, near a very strong place of the Enemy's, called Langport; far from our Garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions,—the Malignant Clubmen interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our Army, if they had opportunity.—Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until the rest of his recruits came up to his Army, with a resolution not to engage until Grenville and Prince Charles his men were come up to him. We could not well have necessitated him to an Engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

In the morning, word was brought us, That the Enemy drew out. He did so, with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater,—which he effected,—but with a resolution not to fight, but, trusting to his ground, thinking he could make away at pleasure.

The pass was strait between him and us; he brought two cannons to secure his, and laid his Musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat-off his cannon, fell down upon his Musketeers, beat them off from their strength, and, where our Horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two Troops of about one-

hundred-and-twenty Horse. Which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable;—beat back two bodies of the Enemy's Horse, being Goring's own Brigade; brake them at sword's-point. The Enemy charged him with near 400 fresh Horse; set them all going,—until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss not of aboye three or four men. Major Desborow seconded him, with some other of those Troops, which were about three. Bethel faced about; and they both routed, at sword's-point, a great body of the Enemy's Horse. Which gave such an unexpected terror to the Enemy's Army, that it set them all a-running. Our Foot, in the mean time, coming on bravely, and beating the Enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Langport and Bridgewater. We took and killed about 2000,—brake all his Foot. We have taken very many Horses, and considerable Prisoners. What are slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Colonel Preston, Colonel Hevening-ham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other Officers of quality. All Major-General Massey's party was with him ('Massey'), seven or eight miles from us,—and about twelve-hundred of our Foot, and three Regiments of our Horse. So that we had but Seven Regiments with us.

Thus you see what the Lord hath wrought for us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him!—Thus you have Long-Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God! You have heard of Naseby: it was a happy victory. As in this, so in that, God was pleased to use His servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know Who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at His people.—I can say this of Naseby, That when I saw the Enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle,—the General having commanded me to order all the Horse,—I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to naught things that are. Of which I had great assurance; and God did it. O that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!

I cannot write more particulars now. I am going to the rendezvous of all our Horse, three miles from Bridgewater; we march that way.—It is a seasonable mercy. I cannot better tell you than write, That God will go on!—We have taken two guns, three carriages of ammunition. In the chase, the Enemy quitted Langport; when they ran out of one end of the Town, we entered the other. They fired that at which we should

chase; which hindered our pursuit: but we overtook many of them. I believe we got near Fifteen-hundred Horse.

Sir, I beg your prayers. Believe, and you shall be established. I rest,

Your servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'*

A couple of months after this battle, Oliver is before Winchester, and makes this Summons:

To the Mayor of the City of Winchester.

'Before Winchester,' 28th September 1645, 5 o'clock at night.

SIR,

I come not to this City but with a full resolution to save it, and the Inhabitants thereof, from ruin.

I have commanded the soldiers, upon pain of death, That no wrong be done:—which I shall strictly observe; only I expect you give me Entrance into the City, without necessitating me to force my way; which if I do, then it will not be in my power to save you or it. I expect your Answer within half an hour; and rest,

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

* Pamphlet in Lincoln College, Oxford; no. 10, "Battles and Sieges,"—title of it, "The Copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons; published by Authority, London, 1645."

† *History and Antiquities of Winchester* (London, 1773), ii. 127.

No. 10.

Army Troubles in 1647.

[Vol. i. p. 239.]

The Vote 'that Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood,' all Members of this House, 'shall proceed to their charges in the Army,' and endeavour to quiet all distempers there,—was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.[1] They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation.—Here are Three Letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner mss., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

1. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"'Saffron Walden,' 3d May 1647.

"Sir,—We have sent out orders to summon the Officers of the several "Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; to the end we may under- "stand from them the true condition and temper of the Soldiers in relation to "the discontents lately represented; and the better to prepare and enable "them,—by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your Votes,[2]—to "allay any Discontents that may be among the Soldiers.

"We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your service; though "it asks some time, by reason of the distance of the quarters. When we "shall have anything worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it;— "and in the mean time study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,

"Ph. Skippon.
"Oliver Cromwell.
"H. Ireton."[3]

[1] *Commons Journals*, v. 158: see antea, vol. i. p. 238.

[2] Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay,—and in short, Justice (*Commons Journals*, v. 158). 'Thursday next' is the 6th of May.

[3] 'A Letter from Major-General' (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) 'Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, 4th May 1647).

2. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"Saffron Walden, 8th May 1647.

"SIR,—According to our orders sent out to the Officers of the Army, many 'of them appeared at the time appointed. The greatest failing was of Horse "Officers; who, by reason of the great distance of their quarters from this "place (being some of them above three-score miles off), could not be here: "yet there were, accidentally, some of every Regiment except Colonel Whalley's "present at our Meeting;—which was upon Friday morning,[4] about ten of the "clock.

"After some discourse offered unto them, About the occasion of the Meeting, "together with the deep sense the Parliament had of some Discontents which "were in the Army, and of our great trouble also that it should be so,—we "told them, We were sent down to communicate the House of Commons' "Votes unto them; whereby their, 'the Parliament's,' care of giving the Army "satisfaction might appear: desiring them 'furthermore' To use their utmost "diligence with all good conscience and effect, by improving their interests in "the Soldiers, *for* their satisfaction; and that they would communicate to "their Soldiers the Votes, together with such informations as they received "then from us, to the end their distemper might be allayed.—After this had "been said, and a Copy of the Votes delivered to the Chief Officer of every "respective Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, we desired them "To give us a speedy account of the success of their endeavours; and if in "anything they needed our advice or assistance for furthering the work, we "should be ready here at Saffron Walden to give it them, upon notice from "them.

"We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the particular distem-"pers, with the grounds of them: because the Officers were desirous to be "spared therein by us, until they might make a farther inquiry amongst the "Soldiers, and see what effect your Votes and their endeavours might have "with them. We desire as speedy an account of this business as might well "be; but, upon the desire of the Officers, thought it necessary for the service "to give them until Saturday next[5] to bring us an account of their business, "by reason the Regiments were so far distant.

"As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent "it; and in the mean time, study to approve ourselves,

"Your most humble servants,
"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."[6]

[4] Friday, yesterday; not 'Thursday,' as at first proposed.

[5] This day week; the 15th.

[6] 'Letter from the General Officers,' 'from Walden, of 8th Maii 1647, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, Tuesday 11th May 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing.

3. "'*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These.*'

"Walden, 17th May 1647.

"SIR,—We having made some progress in the Business you commanded us "upon, we are bold to give you this account. Which, although it come "not with that expedition you may expect and your other affairs require, "yet we hope you will be pleased to excuse us with the weight of the "Affair: in comparison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was, at "least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, whatever the issue prove, "our greatest comfort is, That our consciences bear us witness we have, "according to our abilities, endeavoured faithfully to serve you and the "Kingdom.

"The Officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Saturday last, according "to appointment, to give us a return of[7] what they had in charge from us at "our last Meeting; which was, To read your Votes to the Soldiers under their "respective commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest "faithfully and honestly with them to that end; and 'then' to give us a "perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and a true representation of "the temper of the Army.

"At this Meeting we received what they had to offer to us. Which they "delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some chosen by the rest of the "Officers then present, and in the name of the rest of the Officers and of the "Soldiers under their commands. Which was not done till Sunday in the "evening. At which time, and likewise before upon Saturday, we acquainted "them all with a Letter from the Earl of Manchester, expressing that an Act "of Indemnity, large and full, had passed the House of Commons;[8] and that "two weeks' pay more was voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them "that undertook the service of Ireland. And, thinking fit to dismiss the "Officers to their several commands,—all but some that were to stay here "about farther business,—we gave them in charge To communicate these last "Votes to their Soldiers, and to improve their utmost diligence and interest "for their best satisfaction.

"We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep sense of some "sufferings, and the common Soldiers much unsettled; whereof, that which "we have to represent to you will give you a more perfect view. Which, "because it consists of many papers, and needs some more method in the re-"presentation of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch as "we were sent down by you to our several charges *to do our best to keep the "Soldiers in order*,—we are not well satisfied, any of us, to leave the place nor "duty you sent us to, until we have the signification of your pleasure to us. "To which we shall most readily conform; and rest,

"Your most humble servants,

"PH. SKIPPON.
"OLIVER CROMWELL.
"H. IRETON.
"CHARLES FLEETWOOD."[9]

[7] Means 'response to.'

[8] *Commons Journals*, v. 174 (14th May 1647).

[9] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, i. 205-16.)

No. 11.

Welsh Disturbances in 1648.

[Vol. i. p. 286.]

1. Some charge of Welsh misbehaviour, perhaps treachery, in the late May revolt; charge which, if founded, ought to be made good against 'Edwards'! Colonel Hughes has been Governor of Chepstow, from the time when it was first taken, in autumn 1645;[1] and, we may infer, has returned to his post since Ewers (25th May 1648) retook the Castle. Of Edwards, and his misdeeds, and his accusers, no other clear trace has occurred to me. But in Moyne's Court, Monmouthshire, the seat of this Colonel Thomas Hughes, the following old Note had turned up, and was printed in 1791.

'*To Colonel Hughes, Chepstow Castle.*

Colonel Hughes, 'Before Pembroke,' 26th June 1648.

It's of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe do attend the Council of War, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let it be your especial care to get them into Monmouthshire thereunto. What Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Cradock hath (*sic*) promised to them in point of indemnity, I will endeavour to have it performed; and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily after receipt hereof, and I shall remain

Your servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

---

2. A short Letter to the Committee of Carmarthen. The ancient 'Iron-furnaces' at Carmarthen, the 'Committee' sitting there, the 'Paper' or Proclamation from the Leaguer: these, and the other points of this Letter, will be intelligible to the reader.

[1] *Commons Journals*, iv. 321 and v. 115.

* The *Topographer*, edited by Sir E. Brydges (London, March 1791), iv. 125-9.

For my noble Friends the Committee of Carmarthen: These.

GENTLEMEN, The Leaguer before Pembroke, 9th June 1648.

I have sent this Bearer to you to desire we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the Iron-furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the Town and Castle of Pembroke.

The principal things are: Shells for our Mortarpiece; the depth of them we desire may be of fourteen inches and three-quarters of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is, To cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible expedition; that so, if it be the will of God, the service being done, these poor wasted countries may be freed from the burden of the Army.

In the next place, we desire some D cannon-shot, and some culverin-shot, may with all possible speed be cast for us, and hasted to us also.

We give you thanks for your care in helping us with bread and [*word lost*]. You do herein a very special service to the State; and I do most earnestly desire you to continue herein, according to our desire in the late Letters. I desire that copies of this Paper[2] may be published throughout your county, and the effects thereof observed; for the ease of the county, and to avoid the wronging of the country men.

Not doubting the continuance of your care to give assistance to the Public in the services we have in hand, I rest,

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.*

---

3. Letter found, some years ago, among the lumber of 'St. Jillian's' (Julian's) 'old Castle of the Lords Herbert in Monmouthshire:' Address gone, and not conjecturable with any certainty; Letter evidently genuine,—and still hanging curiously as postscript to Letter LX. (vol. i. p. 284) of date the day before.

'*For the Honourable Richard Herbert, at St. Jillian's: These.*'

SIR, Leaguer before Pembroke, 18th June 1648.

I would have you to be informed that I have good report of your secret practices against the public advantage; by means whereof

[2] Some *Proclamation* seemingly,—of the conceivable sort.

* Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), p. 355. 'Original in the hands of Richard Williams, Esq., Stapleton Hall, Hornsey.'

that arch-traitor Sir Nicholas Kemeys, with his Horse, did surprise the Castle of Chepstow: but we have notable discovery, from the papers taken by Colonel Ewer[3] on recovering the Castle, That Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby was the Malignant who set on foot the plot.

Now I give you this plain warning by Captain Nicholas and Captain Burges, That if you harbour or conceal either of the parties or abet their misdoings, I will cause your treasonable nest to be burnt about your ears.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

---

4. In the Town Archives of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, are the following three Papers; footmarks, still visible, of Oliver's transit through those parts. Twelfth July, date of the first Paper, is the morrow after Pembroke surrendered.

(*a.*) "*To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.*

"We being authorised by Parliament to view and consider what Garrisons "and Places of Strength are fit to be demolished; and we finding that the "Castle of Haverford is not tenable for the services of the State, and yet that "it may be possessed by ill-affected persons, to the prejudice of the peace of "these parts: These are to authorise you to summon-in the Hundred of Roose "and the inhabitants of the Town and County of Haverfordwest; and that "they forthwith demolish the several walls and towers of the said Castle; so "as that the said Castle may not be possessed by the Enemy, to the endangering "of the peace of these parts.

"Given under our hands this 12th of July 1648.

"ROGER LORT. JOHN LORT.
"SAMSON LORT. THOMAS BARLOWE.

"We expect an account of your proceedings, with effect, in this business, by "Saturday being the 15th of July instant."

[3] 'Hewer' he spells.

* '*Monmouthshire Merlin*' (Welsh Newspaper) 'for September 1845.' Inserted there, it would appear, along with other antiquarian fractions, in very ignorant condition, by one Mr. W. M. Townshend, an Attorney in Newport, who is now (1858) dead some years since.—'St. Jillian's,' now a farmhouse near Caerleon, Monmouthshire, was the mansion of the Lords Herbert, of the celebrated Lord Edward of Cherbury for one,—to whom (or to his successor, as the Attorney thinks) this Note was addressed. Note picked up in converting the old Manorhouse into a Farmhouse (which it still is), and published, along with other antiquarian tagraggeries in a very dim and helpless manner, by the Attorney who had been in charge of that operation.

To which Oliver appends:

If a speedy course be not taken to fulfil the commands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a Garrison.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(*b.*) "*For the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cromwell, at Pembroke.*

"Haverfordwest, 13th July 1648.

"HONOURED SIR,—We received an Order from your Honour and the Com-"mittee, for the demolishing of the Castle of Haverfordwest. According to "which we have this day set some workmen about it: but we find the "work so difficult to be brought about without powder to blow it by, that "it will exhaust an 'huge' sum of money, and will not in a long time be "effected.

"Wherefore we become suitors of your Honour that there may a competent "quantity of Powder be spared out of the Ships, for the speedy effecting the "work, and the County paying for the same. And we likewise desire that "your Honour and the Committee be pleased that the whole County may join "with us in the work; and that an Order be considered for the levying of a "competent sum of money on the several Hundreds of the County, for the "paying for the Powder, and defraying the rest of the charge.

"Thus being over-bold to be troublesome to your Honour; desiring to "know your Honour's resolves,—we rest,

"Your Honour's humble servants,

"JOHN PRYNNE, *Mayor.*

"JENKIN HOWELL. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.
"WILLIAM BOWEN. JOB DAVIES.
"ROGER BEVANS. ETHELDRED DAVIES."

Gunpowder cannot be spared on light occasion; and 'levying of competent sums' have had their difficulties before now: here is the handiest method:

(*c.*) *To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest.*

Whereas upon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest, it is thought fit, for the preserving of the peace of this County, that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished:

These are to authorise you to call unto your assistance, in the performance of this exercise (?), the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dungleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgerran; who are hereby required to give you assistance.

Given under our hands this 14th of July 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

['and the two Lorts in a corner of the Paper'].*

* Printed in *Welshman* Newspaper (Carmarthen, 29th Dec. 1848).

No. 12.

Letter to the Derby-House Committee after Preston Battle.

[Vol. i. p. 310.]

Same day with that Letter in the Text, urging the York Committee to help in pursuit of Duke Hamilton, Oliver writes home for Supplies.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons, at Derby House: These. Haste, haste.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Wigan, 23d Aug. 1648.

I did not (being straitened with time) send you an Account of the great blessing of God upon your Army:—I trust it is satisfactory to your Lordships that the House had it so fully presented to them.[1]

My Lords, it cannot be imagined that so great a business as this could be without some loss;—although I 'confess' very little compared with the weightiness of the Engagement; there being on our part not an Hundred Slain, yet many Wounded. And to our little it is a real weakening, for indeed we are but a handful. I submit to your Lordships, whether you will think fit or no To recruit our Loss; we having but Five poor Regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered as I never saw them in all my life.

It is not to be doubted but your Enemy's designs are deep: this Blow will make them very angry: the principles they went on were such as should a little awaken Englishmen; for I have heard it from very good hands of their own party, that the Duke made this the argument to his Army, That the Lands of the Country and—[*illegible the next line or two, from ruin of the paper; the words lost mean clearly, "That the Scots were to share our lands among them, and come to inhabit the conquered country:" a very high figure of rumour indeed!*]—which accordingly is done in part, there being a Transplantation of many women and children and of whole families in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as I am credibly informed [*for the moment!*]—Much more might be said; but I

[1] In Letter LXIV. (supra, vol. i. pp. 301-307).

forbear. I offer it to your Lordships that Money may be 'sent' to pay the foot and horse to some equality. Some of those that are here seventy days before I marched from Windsor into Wales have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own Regiment and some others are much behind. I wish your Lordships may manage it for the best advantage, and not be wanting to yourselves in what is necessary: which is the end of my offering these things to you. My Lords, Money is not for Contingencies so as were to be wished; we have very many things to do which might be better done if we had wherewithal. Our Foot want Clothes, Shoes and Stockings; these ways and weather have shattered them all to pieces: that which was the great blow to our Horse was (beside the weather and incessant marches) our March ten miles to fight with the Enemy, and a Fight continuing four hours in as dirty a place as ever I saw horse stand in; and, upon the matter, the continuance of this Fight two days more together in our following the Enemy, and lying close by him in the mire—[*moths again and mildew* . . . . . until at length we broke him at a near . . . . . a great party of our horse having . . . . . miles towards Lancaster; who came up . . . . . to us, and were with us in all the Action].—These things I thought fit to intimate, not knowing what is fit to ask, because I know not how your Affairs stand, nor what you can supply.

I have sent Major-General Lambert, upon the day I received the Enclosed, with above Two-Thousand horse and dragoons and about Fourteen-Thousand foot in prosecution of the Duke and the Nobility of Scotland with him; who will, I doubt not, have the blessing of God with him in the business. But indeed his horse are exceeding weak and weary.—I have sent to Yorkshire and to my Lord Grey to alarm all parts to a prosecution: and if they be not wanting to the work, I see not how many can escape. I am marched myself back to Preston;—and so on towards Monro or otherwise, as God shall direct.

As things fall out, I shall represent them to you; and rest,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your most humble 'servant,'

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* Tanner MSS. lvii. (1.) 229. Original, signed inside and out by Cromwell: much injured by mildew and moths.

No. 13.

Letter to the Derby-House Committee in 1648.

[Vol. i. p. 329.]

Recapitulating what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons, at Derby House.

My Lords and Gentlemen, Norham, 20th Sept. 1648.

I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn[1] an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North,—with a desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointment, in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here a copy of the Summons that was sent to Berwick[2] when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a Letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland:[3]—I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the War. But there being, as I learned since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not able to make a Committee;—I believe the said Letter is suppressed,[4] and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe. For whom we 'had' obtained a safe Convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our said Letter; the Governor of Berwick's Answer to our Summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof we did instruct them to give all assurances to the Marquis of Argyle and the Honest Party in Scotland,—who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanark, Monro, and their Armies,—of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

[1] Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns.

[2] Letter LXX. (vol. i. p. 319.)

[3] Letter LXXII. (vol. i. p. 321.)

[4] Not 'suppressed;' though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. i. p. 323.)

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan, with divers other Scots Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed Letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They also showed me their Instructions, and a Paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanark and Monro; as also an Expostulation upon Lanark's breach with them,—in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but Seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.[5] These Papers I also send here enclosed to your Lordships.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me, I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the Letter directed to the Lord Chancellor;[6] a Copy whereof your Lordships have here enclosed. Which I delivered to Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with these Gentlemen, I do find the condition of their Affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanark, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Monro, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their Adversaries,—marched with all speed to get possession of Stirling-Bridge; that so they might have three parts in four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs. They were about 5,000 Foot, and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the Honest Lords and Gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: 'these,' having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse,—lie about six miles this side the Enemy. I hear that their Infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience; and are generally of the Godly People of that Nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very godly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late Victory. Whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your Letter; which was, "That "I should prosecute the remaining Party in the North, and not leave "any of them, wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new Army; "nor cease to pursue the Victory till I finish and fully complete it with "the rendition of those Towns of Berwick and Carlisle, which most "unjustly, and against all obligations, and the Treaties then in force, they "surprised and garrisoned against us."

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland: where I found the whole Country so harassed and impoverished by Monro and the Forces with him, that the Country was no way able to bear us on

[5] Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*.

[6] Letter LXXIII. (vol. i. p. 323.)

the English side; but we must necessarily have ruined both your Army and the Subjects of this Kingdom, who would not have had bread for a day if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your Orders, and in answer to the necessities of your friends in Scotland, and their desires; and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the Governor of Berwick from putting of provisions into his Garrisons on the Scots side, whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed,—I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement. And having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the Desires formerly expressed in my Letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of Shipping to be upon these Coasts, who may furnish us with Ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary-out and destroy our Horse, and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest,

Your Lordships' most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the Business in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I have sent Orders both into Lancashire and to the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my Desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts.*

* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xvii. 481).

No. 14.

Letter on Behalf of Young Cholmely.

[Vol. i. p. 340.]

Written on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These.

Sir, Boroughbridge, 28th October 1648.

I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmely, who was bold in the Fight against the Scots at Berwick,[1] was Custom-master at Carlisle;—the Gentleman 'had' merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his Eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a Younger Son, who had likewise been in your service. And resolving to obtain my Letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an *undertenant* of the place for his Son with this his purpose To come to me to the borders of Scotland to obtain the said Letter;—which the said servant 'or undertenant' did say, Was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my Letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a Petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, 'the undertenant,' by the mediation of some gentlemen: —but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, That if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business,—I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it,—you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely's youngest Son, that *he* may have the place conferred upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige,

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

[1] Against Monro, I suppose, when he ended his maraudings in that quarter (vol i. p. 316).

* Tanner mss. (in Cary, ii. 46.)

No. 15.

Correspondence with the Mayor of Waterford.

[Vol. ii. p. 20.]

Preserved in the anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

Letter 1. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

Gentlemen, Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st Nov. 1649.

I have received information that you hitherto refuse a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some Factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, if the fault be not in themselves; and purposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by Force, or by Agreement with you upon Terms wherein your own good and happiness, and that of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding 'what' some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; 'and' knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of a capacity to make any such Accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and People of Wexford,—I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that *they* gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power (*sic*) and in commerce with England. It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you: weigh them well; it so behoves you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.

REPLY 1. "*For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland.*

"Waterford, 23d November 1649.

"MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and my Aldermen, we "have, by your Trumpet, received. Your Lordship's advice, as we do all "others, we weigh with the condition of our safety; and so far shall make use "thereof as it contributes to the same.

"For your intentions of reducing this City, by Force or Agreement:—as we "will by all possible means endeavour our natural defence against the first, so "happily will we not be averse to the latter,—if we shall find it not dis-"honourable nor destructive. And for that purpose 'we' do desire your "Lordship will grant us a Cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts of hostility; "and send us Safe-conducts, with blanks for the men we shall employ, to treat "with your Lordship; and in the interim bring your Army no nearer this "City than now it is.

"We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it wholesome, even from "an enemy's hand; nor to deny him such thanks as it merits. And if your "Lordship should deny us the time we look for, we doubt not,—with the men "we have already in Town, though we should receive no more,—to make good "this Place, till the Power of the Kingdom relieves us.

"To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Commons have laid "their commands on me,

My Lord,

"Your very loving friend,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 2. *For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford.*

GENTLEMEN, From my Camp before Waterford, 24th November 1649.

I expected to have heard from you before this, by my Trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, That I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit—

Hereby to summon you To surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things; and rest,

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 2. "*For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell.*

"Waterford, 24th November 1649.

"MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 24th I have received even now; in which "you desire an account of your Lordship's Trumpeter, sent with a former Letter "to us; and summon us to deliver your Lordship this City and Fort.

"Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have answered "yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the Trumpeter's not coming to you, "he might have suffered some mischance by going the County-of-Kilkenny "way. We therefore now send you a Copy of that Answer;[1] to which we "desire your Lordship's resolution. Before we receive which, we cannot make "farther answer to the rest of your Letter.

"We therefore desire you will despatch the Safe-conduct desired, and forbear "acts of hostility during the Treaty;—and you shall be very soon attended by "Commissioners from,

My Lord,

"Your Lordship's servant,

"JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford."

LETTER 3. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford.*

SIRS, 'Before Waterford,' 24th Nov. 1649.

My first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect that, as you say, he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the help of God, have marched up to this place as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to the other of Force;—although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a Cessation for Fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this Business to a conclusion as well. But for Four or Five Days I am content that there be a Cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army:—provided you give me assurance That, in the mean time, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for Twenty-four hours after.

[1] Reply 1; already given.

I expect to have your present answer hereto: because, if this be agreed-to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said Cessation..

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I have by this Bearer returned a Safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.*

* Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, p. 95 et seqq.

No. 16.

Exchange of Prisoners: Renegado Wogan.

[Vol. ii. p. 24.]

The Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences: 'At that time, there being one Captain 'Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, a stranger to the General, but being a prisoner 'on an English account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a 'Council of War certain Votes were passed,' which we shall soon read:

'*For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel.*

'Cork, 4th January 1649.'

"At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the Fourth day of January, "Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord "President of Munster,[1] Sir Hardress Waller knight, and divers other chief "Officers of the Army were present, it was resolved as followeth:

"1. That a Letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's Trumpet, to let "him know, That for every private Foot-soldier of our party, prisoner with "him, whom he shall release, he shall have so many of his private soldiers, "prisoners with us, released for them; and for every Trooper of ours which "he shall release, he shall have Two private Foot-soldiers released for him.

"2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of like quality for "such Officers of ours as are in their power; and that he will deliver a Major "of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and two Captains of Foot for a Captain of "Horse; and so proportionably.

"3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of Ormond's "Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their custody."

Sir,

Having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the Irish Army did send menacing Orders to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broghil, That if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, they were ready to put Captain Caufield to death,—I thought fit to offer to you the equal Exchanges

[1] Ireton.

before mentioned; leaving you to your election. Which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, That if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious as Wogan,—who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a Foreign Nation,[2] to invade England, under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said Nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here:—That 'then, I say,' as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid; so, 'if' that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, That I am resolved to deal with Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufield as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, That I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.

Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[2] Scotland: to join Hamilton and his *Engagement*.

* Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, ubi supra.

No. 17.

Ireland: Arrangements for the Administration of Justice there.

[Vol. ii. p. 25.]

For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters of the Chancery in England: These.

Sir, Cork, 31st December 1649.

To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part when you resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God, not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this Nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a farther end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, That we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us;—and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of Glory and Peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but 'raise' hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may as poor instruments, 'we' cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings, much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done

in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our arrival here,—by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy,—that there was a dissolution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons intrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [*Dublin and Derry at our arrival*], in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it, may exceedingly gain upon them,—who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as (I believe) any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed 'they' are accounted the bribing'st [*so to speak!*] people that are; they having been inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it!—I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject;—and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance uses to hear and determine Causes depending there: you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing Salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled within common allowances, which have been to others (I doubt) but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you 'of' £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance;—and although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be interpreted by you as a call: but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness;—the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you: let my Letter be as little seen as you may;—you know what constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and (were it fit to be committed to paper) would 'be' if I should say That this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might

abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the Lawyer, you would move him to the acceptance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage. And any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Sadler did not go; John Cooke, Advocate famed in the King's trial, went. Of Graves I know nothing. Sadler has left some Books; indicating a strange corner of dreamy imaginativeness in his otherwise solid, lucid and pious mind. A man much esteemed by Hartlib, Milton's friend, and by the world legal and other. He continued one of the Masters in Oliver's new Chancery, when the number was reduced to six.

* *General Dictionary* (by Birch, Bernard, &c. London, 1739), vol. ix. pp. 19-20, § *Sadler* (materials furnished by 'Thos. Sadler, Deputy Clerk of the Pells,' a descendant of this Sadler's).

No. 18.

Ireland: Operations in Tipperary.

[Vol. ii. p. 52.]

Colonel Phayr is in Cork, 'with near Five-hundred foot,' since November last; Broghil, Fenton, and their relation to him, were also indicated in the Text.[1]

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These. Haste, haste.

Sir, Fethard, 9th February 1649.

It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for farther attempts.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send Two Companies more of your Regiment to Mallow,[2] do it. If not, One at the least; that so my Lord Broghil may spare us Two or Three of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his[3] Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the Business I have sent to him about. Salute all my Friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.

'P.S.' Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men whilst we are inactive,—I presume you are in no danger; however, I desire you would make this use of it, To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can. And herein deal with effect.*

[1] Letters CXIV. CXV., vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

[2] 'Mayallo' in orig.

[3] i. e. Colonel Ewers's.

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayr, 'The Lo. Leu^t Letter to mee the ninth of Feb^i 1649; About sending men.' By another hand there is also written on the outside 'Mallo posest,'—meaning, probably for Phayr's information, *Mallow possessed* (got, laid hold of).

No. 19.

Haselrig and Dunbar Battle.

[Vol. ii. p. 107.]

Here, by the kindness of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne, are now (for our *Third* and all other *Editions*) the Letters themselves. This Gentleman, Grandson of the 'Steward of the Haselrigs' mentioned in vol. ii. p. 120, possesses all the Four Cromwell Letters alluded to by Brand; and has now (May 1847) beneficently furnished an exact copy of them, privately printed. Letter CXXXIX. alone is autograph; the other Three are in a Clerk's hand. Letter CXXXIX., Letter CXLI., these and the Two which follow here, it appears, Mr. O.'s Grandfather 'begged from the fire, on a day when much destruction of old Letters and waste Papers was going on at Nosely Hall,'—Letter CXXXIX. and all England are somewhat obliged to him! Here are the other Two:

1. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These.*

Sir, Dunbar, 5th September 1650.

After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them; very many of which, it's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the Prisoners up Southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your Superior.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what Horse and Foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this Business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's People. Wherefore I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this Work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare.—Not having more at present, I rest,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These. Haste, haste.*

SIR, Edinburgh, 9th September 1650.

I cannot but hasten you in sending-up what Forces possibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Saturday, but could not come.

We are not able to carry-on our business as we would, until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith,—until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, 'at such a season of the year,' above two months to keep the field. Therefore expedite what you can! And I desire you to send us free Masons;—you know not the importance of Leith.

I hope your Northern Guests are come to you, by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester.

I have no more; but rest,

Your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady.†

* Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

† Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Besides the Signature, "My service to the dear Lady" is also autograph.

No. 20.

Four Letters to the Speaker, in Behalf of individual Military Gentlemen, and their Claims.

[Vol. ii. pp. 167, 194, 196, 197.]

Letter 1*st*, in behalf of Colonel Maleverer's Family (vol. ii. p. 167).

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

Right Honourable, Edinburgh, 28th Dec. 1650.

It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Maleverer, a very useful member of this Army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad Widow and seven small Children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of sickness during this hard service in your field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the Public service before his private relations. And (as I have been credibly informed) his losses by the Royal and Malignant Party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his Country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest,

Your most humble servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

Letter 2*d*, in behalf of John Arundel of Trerice (vol. ii. p. 194).

Oliver is now in Scotland, busy enough with great matters; must not neglect the small either. Military Gentlemen, Ex-Royalist even, applying to the Lord-General in their distress, seem to be a frequent item just now. To whom how can he be deaf, if it is undeserved distress?—'This Enclosed'[1] is

* Tanner mss. (in Cary, ii. 243.)

[1] Ibid. ii. 258

from an Ex-Royalist Gentleman, Mr. John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall; and relates to what is now an old story, the Surrender of Pendennis Castle to Fairfax's people (August 1646); in which Mr. John, by the arbitrary conduct of a certain Parliamentary Official, suffers huge damage at this time,—a fine of no less than £10,000, 'quite ruinous to my poor estate,' and clear against bargain at the rendition of Pendennis, being now laid upon him by the arbitrary Parliamentary Official in those parts. As not only human justice, but the honour of the Army is concerned, Mr. John has written to the Lord General,—the Trerice Arundels, he alleges furthermore, having once 'had the honour to stand in some friendship, or even kinship, with your noble family.' Oliver, during that hurried first visit to Glasgow, writes in consequence:

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Glasgow, 25th April 1651.

Receiving this Enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction not improper to myself from the Party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed Letter of the Gentleman's will make manifest unto you:—I make bold humbly to present the Business to the Parliament.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter 3*d*, in behalf of Colonel Clayton (vol. ii. p. 196).

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Edinburgh, 10th May 1651.

I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton;—who, being taken prisoner[2] when I was in Ireland, was with some other Officers judged to die, as

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 270.)

[2] Supra, vol. ii. p. 65, and Whitlocke, p. 432.

those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his Revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief Officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his Country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you To pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to improve his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the Public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter written (what may be noted) just in the beginning of that dangerous Fit of Sickness;—following Letter just about the end of it.

Letter 4th, in behalf of Colonel Borlace (vol. ii. p. 197).

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Edinburgh, 13th June 1651.

Having received the enclosed Petition and Letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro,[3] in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the Petitioner himself

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 272.)

[3] Hopton's Surrender, 14th March 1645-6 (antea, vol. i. p. 205); a hurried Treaty, which gave rise to much doubting and pleading, in other instances than this.

having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good:—I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will take his case into consideration, and that his Business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved.

I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 276.)

No. 20*.

[Vol. ii. 195.]

General Harrison, with some force, is on the Border, keeping open our communications. Along with that Letter to Mrs. Cromwell goes another, dated the same day.

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: These.

Dear Harrison, Edinburgh, May 3d, 1651.

I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy Letters are always very welcome to me.

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good Officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal, in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have 'been' and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make Officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where 'are' twelve troops of horse; whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the Borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you; so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the

mercy of God, we hope to have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate 'them.' Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondency one with another. And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he hath an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friend at London, that you might have two regiments of foot sent too, 'of' which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is

Your affectionate faithful Friend,

Oliver Cromwell.*

* Letter in possession of B. S. Elcock, Esq., of Prior-Park Buildings, Bath (*Note of* 1869).

No. 21.

March to Worcester.

[Vol. ii. p. 209.]

Oliver, in his swift March from Scotland towards Worcester, takes Ripon and Doncaster as stages: Provision for us must be 'in readiness against our coming.'

'*To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster: These.*'

Gentlemen, Ripon, 18th August 1651.

I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the Army on Wednesday [1] night or Thursday morning; and forasmuch as the Soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readiness there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.*

[1] Wednesday is 20th.

* Original in the possession of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire (communicated, 19th October 1850).

No. 22.

After Worcester Battle: Letters to the Speaker.

[Vol. ii. p. 217.]

'To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.'

Sir, Evesham, 8th September 1651.

The late most remarkable, seasonable, and signal Victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory) was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration: That as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our Friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the Sequestration or Estates of such as abetted this Engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your Soldier;—which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed Wife and Children of one William Guise, of the City of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament. The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the War: and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle, there to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

'*To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.*'

SIR, Chipping Norton, 8th September 1651.

I have sent this Bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the Colours taken in the late Fight;—at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of these sent will be about an Hundred; the remainder also being Forty or Fifty, which were taken at the Engagement in Fife.[1] I ask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 378).

[1] Inverkeithing Fight in July: see Letter CLXXV.

† Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 380).

No. 23.

Letter to Sister Elizabeth.

[Vol. i. p. 20 note; ii. p. 235.]

By accident, another curious glimpse into the Cromwell family. 'Sister Elizabeth,' of whom, except the date of her birth and that she died unmarried,[1] almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here; 'living at Ely,' in very truth (as Noble had guessed she did); quietly boarded at some friendly Doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver; now and then hears from him, we are glad to see, and receives 'small tokens of his love' of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this Letter! Son Ireton is dead of fever in Ireland; the tidings reached London just a week ago.

For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stand[2] *his house at Ely: These.*

Dear Sister, 'Cockpit,' 15th December 1651.

I have received divers Letters from you; I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect: my burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few to go through therewith; but I have hope in a better Strength.—I have herewith sent you Twenty Pounds as a small token of my love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my Son Ireton's death. I rest,

Dear Sister,

Your affectionate Brother,

Oliver Cromwell.*

'P.S.'[3] My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.

[1] Antea, vol. i. p. 19. [2] Query, not *Hand?*

* Original shown me, and copied for me (26th October 1853), by Mr. Puttick, Auctioneer, 191 Piccadilly,—who sold it, with another (Letter to *Dick*, 2*d April* 1650, *Carrick*, our Letter CLXXXII.), next day, 'for 9 guineas, to Mr. Holloway, Bedford Street:' the *Dick*, a long letter, in very good keeping, went 'for 26 guineas, to Mr. John Young, 6 Size Lane, Bucklersbury.' [3] On the margin.

No. 24.

Letter to the Committee for Sequestrations, in Behalf of Mr and Mrs. Fincham.

[Vol. ii. p. 238.]

Thomas Fincham, Esquire, of Oatwell, Isle of Ely, is on the List of Delinquents: Oliver, as an old friend or at least neighbour, will do what he can for him.

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These.

Gentlemen, Cockpit, — December 1651.

I formerly recommended unto you the Petition of one Mr. Fincham and his Wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear, I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case: whereby you will very much oblige,

Gentlemen,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.*

* Composition Papers, in State-Paper Office.

No. 25.

To Oxford and Cambridge.

[Vol. ii. p. 240.]

From those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or way-marks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

'Greenwood' we have already seen: 'Goodwin' is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of 'Zachary Maine,' and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows.[1] Zachary's desire was complied-with. A godly young man from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but ended peaceably as Master of the Free School of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. *To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Sir, 'Cockpit,' 12th April 1652.

Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, Demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour To be dispensed-with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his Degree of Bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said Degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein.

I remain, Sir,

Your very loving friend,

Oliver Cromwell.*

[1] *Athenæ*, iv. 411.

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

The Second an official Protection to Cambridge :

2. *To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern.*

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof : Not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any of the Colleges, Halls or other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge ; Nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Note. In the Archives of Trinity College Cambridge is a patent duly signeted, and superscribed "Oliver P.," of date "Whitehall, 21st October 1654;" appointing Richard Pratt, "who, as we are informed, is very poor and necessitous," a *Bedesman* (small pensioner for life) of that College. Which merely official Piece, as Richard Pratt too, except this of being poor, is without physiognomy for us, we do not insert here.[2]

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again :

3. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor : And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may 'again' happen and arise between them : And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same : And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein :

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several Colleges and Halls there, or any Five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), To hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have 'arisen,' or shall arise, between any of the said Members ; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine

* Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 452.

[2] Copy *penes me.*

therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and equity. And this Power and Commission to continue during the space of Six Months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

---

4. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford.*

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the Scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said Scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them. To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or confirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any Three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

No. 26.

Letter to Lord Wharton about Henry Cromwell's Marriage.

[Vol. ii. p. 211.]

'Poor foolish Mall,' whom we guessed in the Text to be on a visit at Winchington, was then busy there, it would seem, and is now again busy, on a very important matter: scheme of marriage between her brother Henry, now in Ireland, and her fair Friend here, Lord Wharton's Daughter,—the Lady Elizabeth, his eldest, as may be clearly inferred from the genealogies.[1] The Lord General approves; match most honourable; shall not fail for want of money on his part. Unless, indeed, 'the just scruples of the Lady' prove unsurmountable? Which, apparently, they did. Both parties afterwards married: the Lady Elizabeth to 'the third Earl Lindsay;' Henry Cromwell a 'Russel of Chippenham;' on which latter event, the 'Dalby and Broughton,' here mentioned, were actually settled upon Henry. Burleigh and Pakham went to his brother Richard.

'For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These.'

My dear Lord, 'Cockpit,' 30th June 1652.

Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what would be fit for me to do or desire, in the Business you know of. But being engaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

For the Estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my Steward is not here) be so exact as I would: but the Lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distant; in all about 1900*l.* per annum. Moreover Dalby 'and' Broughton, 1600*l.* per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my Son: yet all is unworthy of the honourable Person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the Lady hath so many just

[1] Lipscomb's *History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), i. 544.

scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a tentation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really,[2] yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the Business uneasy:—wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, If there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble Person, let this Affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it,—as your Lordship's 'own' thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling,—lest she incur the loss of a good Friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes,

My Lord,

Your most affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[2] 'reallilye' in orig.

* Original in Bodleian Library; endorsed by Lord Wharton, "My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne." Printed in *Illustrated London News*, 7th November 1856.

No. 27.

Scraps from 1653.

[Vol. ii. p. 282.]

1. In a volume of the *Annual Register* are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

'Whitehall,' 16th May 1653.

I think fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Original and other Languages go on without any let or interruption.

Oliver Cromwell.*

'By favour of whose Government,' as Walton in his Preface furthermore records, 'we had our paper free of duty, *quorum favore chartam a vectigalibus immunem habuimus*,'—with perhaps other furtherances. See Irwell's *Life of Pocock* (reprint. London, 1816), pp. 209-211.

---

2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through 'Pegge's Manuscripts,' take the following highly insignificant Official Note. Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the 'Committee of the Army,' and Oliver 'Commander of all the Forces raised and to be raised,' are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know; nor whether he might be the 'Captain Mitchell' who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General's Secretary,[1] and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell.

Sir, Whitehall, 18th May 1653.

You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an Account of all Moneys by you received upon their Warrants between the Fifteenth of January 1647 and the Twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment,

* *Annual Register*, xxxvi. 373-4.

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 61), 22d-29th June 1649.

Troop or Company, by or for whom you were intrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your Account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the Seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee, What Moneys by you received as aforesaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

---

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first, which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading, would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons to the Puritan Notables;[2]—and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

'*A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin.*'

MONSIEUR, *De Westminster, ce* 9-19 *Juin* 1653.

J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque façon rétiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est,

Monsieur,
De votre Eminence
Le très-humble serviteur,
OLIVER CROMWELL.†

Of which take this Version:

"Westminster, 9th June 1653.

"SIR,—I have been surprised that your Eminency was pleased to remember "a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, withdrawn from the "rest of the world. This honour has justly such a resentment with me that I

* Pegge's MSS. (in the College of Arms, London), vii. 425.

[2] Antea, vol. ii. p. 253.

† From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c.

"feel myself bound, by all opportunities, to be serviceable to your Eminency; "and as I shall be happy to meet with such, so I hope M. de Bourdeaux," the Ambassador, "will help to procure them to,

Sir,

"Your Eminency's most humble servant,

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Nay here now (*Edition* 1857) is the Original itself; politely forwarded to me, three years ago, by the Translator of M. Guizot's *English Commonwealth*, where doubtless it has since appeared in print:

Westminster, the 9th of June 1653.

IT'S surprise to me that your Eminence should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has, as it ought, 'made' a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige 'me' to serve your Eminency upon all occasions: and as I shall be happy to find out 'such,' so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe, will therein be helpful to,

Your Eminency's thrice-humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

---

4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left for us the following offhand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, "Sir Gilbert" Pickering "would needs write a very "fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen "and ink, and straightway wrote that to you:"

'*To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal.*'

MY LORD, Whitehall, 2d September 1653.

The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest,

My Lord,

Your humble servants,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

GILBERT PICKERING.*

* From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster, iv. 319).

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

'To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin.'

My Lord, 'Whitehall,' 26th January 1653.

Monsieur de Baas[3] hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; my just resentment whereof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from,

Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

Oliver P.*

---

6. 'The Corporation of Lynn Regis,' it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it farther.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn Regis.

Gentlemen, Whitehall, 30th January 1653.

I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects;—assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation.

Commending you to the grace of God, I remain,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.†

[3] The new Envoy, or Agent; of whom in the next No.

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c.

† *History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge* (London, fol. 1766), p. 55.

No. 28.

From 1654—1655: Vowel's Plot; Rectory of Houghton Conquest; Penruddock's Plot; Letter to the Poet Waller; New England.

[Vol. ii. p. 304; iii. pp. 62, 68.]

1. Another wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. de Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 'to congratulate the new Protector,'—that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The 'Treaty and firm Amity,' as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses in consequence; examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again.[1]

'*Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino.*'

Eminentissime Cardinalis,

In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Majestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc sententiâ perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Gallia colendi et paciscendi. Atque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare;

[1] Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii. 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), ib. 113. See also ib. 379, 437.

quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Albâ Aulâ, vicesimo nono Junii an. 1654.

*Oliverius P.**

Of which, if it be worth translating, this is the English :

"Most Eminent Cardinal,—In our Letter to the King we have set forth "the grounds and occasions moving us to order M. de Baas to depart from this "Commonwealth; and have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this "deceit of the said De Baas, the blame of which is imputed to him alone, we "persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring and obtaining a "firm and intimate Peace and Amity with France. And it gives us pleasure, "on this occasion, to renew those former testimonies of our good inclination "towards you and your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall "in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In the mean while, "we commend your Eminency to the keeping of the Almighty,

Oliver P.

"Whitehall, 29th June 1654."

---

2. Presentation to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest.

'*Communicated to me*' (Thomas Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary) '*by my 'worthy friend Brown Willis Esq. of Whaddon Hall in Com. Bucks, from 'the original Presentation, in the hands of a friend of his.*'

OLIVER P.

Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to the Commissioners authorised by a late Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, or 'to' any five of them, greeting. We present John Pointer to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest in the county of Bedford, void by the death of the late Incumbent, and to our presentation belonging; to the end he may be approved-of by them, and admitted thereunto, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at Whitehall, the 29th of September 1654.†

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. &c.

† Harl. mss. no. 7053, f. 153.

3. Design against the Spanish West Indies.

[Vol. iii. pp. 29, 67.]

Our great Design against the Spaniards in the West Indies is still called only 'a Design by Sea,' and kept very secret. Proper, however, as the rumours probably are loud, to give the Parliament, now sitting, some hint of it. Hence this Letter; of no moment otherwise. Unluckily 'the righthand border of the Paper is now much worn away;' so that several words are wanting,—conjecturally supplied here, *in italics*.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

Mr Speaker, Whitehall, 22d September 1654.

I have, by advice of the Council, undertaken a Design by Sea, very much (as we hope and judge) for the honour and advantage of the Commonwealth; and have already made the preparations requisite for such an undertaking But before I proceed to the execution thereof, the Parliament being now convened, I thought it agreeable to my trust to communicate to them the aforesaid resolution, and not to desire the delay thereof any longer (although I suppose you may be engaged, at the present, in matters of greater weight); because many *miscarriages* will fall out in this Business through delay, as well in *providing* of the charge as otherwise; the well-timing of such a *Design* being as considerable as anything about it. And th*erefore I* desire you to take your first opportunity to acquaint *the House* with the contents of this Letter, wherein I have *foreborne* to be more particular, because there are severed *persons* in Parliament who know this whole Business, and *can inform* the House of all particulars, if the House do judge *it to be* consistent with the nature of the Design to have it of *fered* to them particularly:—which I refer to their consideration; and rest,

Your assured friend,

Oliver P.*

* 'Autograph Letter throughout.' Copy *penes me;* reference (Tanner Mss. no doubt) is unfortunately lost. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 369 (22d September 1654), for the Return made.

4. New Appointments; Announcement of them to the Parliament.

OLIVER P.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament.

Right trusty and right well-beloved,

We greet you well. It being expressed in the Thirty-fourth Article of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the approbation of the major part of the Council,—to be afterwards approved by the Parliament; and several Persons of integrity and ability having been appointed by Me (with the Council's approbation) for some of those Services before the meeting of the Parliament;—I have thought it necessary to transmit unto you, in the enclosed Schedule, the names of those Persons, to the end that the resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning them: which I desire may be with such speed as the other public occasions of the Commonwealth will admit. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this Fifth day of October 1654.*

Enclosure is endorsed: "The Schedule inclosed in his Highness Letter of ye 5th of October 1654."—"Read October 5th, 1654; and again, 6th Oct."

Charles Fleetwood, Esquire	Deputy of Ireland.
Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esquire	Commissioners of the Great Seal of England.
Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt.	
John Lisle, Esquire	
The Three Commissioners of the Great Seal above-named	Commissioners of the Treasury.
The Lord Chief Justice Rolle	
The Lord Chief Justice St. John	
Edward Montague, Esquire	
William Sydenham, Esquire	

* Original, with the Great Seal attached, in Tanner mss., lii. 135. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 378 (24th October 1654).

HENRY ROLLE . . . . . } Chief Justice of the Court of Upper Bench.

OLIVER ST. JOHN . . . . . } Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

---

5 and 6. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair: they find their place here.

Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde, is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City, very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities,—in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subject; which was thought a great feat on his part.[2] Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues,—holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said, appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Unluckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date '25th' for 24th, or else Thurloe himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight, that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's '25th,' which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

For Sir John Wilde, Sergeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or, in his absence, to Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Worcester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design. Yet knowing the resolution of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others intrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions: and therefore, as a measure especially conducing to that end,

We do earnestly recommend to you To take order that diligent Watches (such as the Law hath appointed) be daily kept, for taking a

[2] Thanked by the Parliament (*Commons Journals*, vi. 49, 10th October 1648).

strict account of all strangers in the Country. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons; but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized-upon,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account of their business;—and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in their bud, or kept from growing to a maturity. I rest,

Your affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester.

GENTLEMEN, Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the Risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design.

The readiness of the Honest People to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harassed Nation in the world. And therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country and your own particular as to outward and inward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general Principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these Nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your action goes upon the higher and more noble account.

* Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities*, First Series (Bath, 1818), pp. 51-3.

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry-on this work. If the Business had not been allayed, we *must* have found out a way and means to allay that want. But otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender,—as we conceive yourselves have been,—of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing Countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for this their forwardness; and let them know That when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, 'on' being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they may continue at their homes, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

And I do hereby let you know that Letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties,[3] That Watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the Coast. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad 'in order' to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

Having said this,—with remembrance of my hearty love to you, I rest,

Your very affectionate friend,

OLIVER P.*

Of the same date, the same Letter (with insignificant variations), bearing the address, *For Colonel Humphrey Brewster and the rest of the Commissioners for the Militia for the County of Suffolk*, and dated as well as signed in Oliver's hand, is now in the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge, a kinsman or representative of this Humphrey Brewster.

The one considerable variation is as follows. Paragraph second, of the Copy given here, and the first two sentences of paragraph third, are suppressed in Brewster's Copy, and there stands instead,—after 'Design:' 'And now 'forasmuch as it hath pleased God thus to allay this Business; and making it, 'as we hope we soon (*sic*) shall, our design to ease this Nation:' &c.—after and before which the two Copies almost exactly correspond. (MS. *penes me.*)

[3] Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

* *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* (Gloucester, 1825;—see antea, vol. i. p. 147), p. 412;—from the City Records of Gloucester.

By the City Records just cited from, it appears that, on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, 'Eighteen Gloucester Bakers had sent to Tewkesbury 'for the Lord General Cromwell's Army, Thirteen-hundred and odd Dozens of 'Bread at a Shilling the dozen, amounting to £66. 5s.; and that the Mayor and 'others, on the 1st September 1651, sent Forty barrels of strong Beer to the Lord 'General, "praying your favourable acceptance thereof, as an argument of the 'good affection of this Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable 'coming into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of the 'common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and your Army."'[4]

Furthermore, that on the 11th October 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, 'in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City,' High Steward of the same, 'with an annual rent of 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors;'—for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652.

	£	s.	d.
Recd of the Maior and Burg[s] of Glouc[r] by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year aboves[d] the some of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd	05	00	00

O. Cromwell.*

---

7. The following brief Note to the Poet Waller, which has latterly turned up, has a certain peculiar interest, on two grounds: *first*, to all readers, as offering some momentary glimpse, momentary but unique and indisputable, of Oliver's feeling on reading the Poet's noble "*Panegyric to my Lord Protector;*" and *secondly*, to antiquarian people, as fixing what was hitherto left vague, the approximate date of that celebrated Piece.[5] To an audacious guesser it might almost seem, these Verses had reached Oliver, by messenger, a day or two before; and the 'unhappy mistake' were Oliver's, in sending, on the morrow, to have an interview with Waller, and finding him to be at Northampton instead!—

For my very loving Friend Edmund[6] *Waller, Esq., Northampton: Haste, haste.*

Sir, 'Whitehall,' 13th June 1655.

Let it not trouble you that, by so unhappy a mistake, you are, as I hear, at Northampton. Indeed I am passionately affected with it.

[4] *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 406. * Ibid. p. 411.

[5] Fenton, *Works of Edmund Waller* (London 1730), gives the *Panegyric* (pp. 113-121): and (ib. p. cix) his Note upon it, in which all he can say as to date is, 'about the year 1654.'

[6] Copy has "Edward" as yet.

I have no guilt upon me unless it be to be revenged for your so willingly mistaking me in your Verses.[7] This action 'of mine' will put you to redeem me from yourself, as you have already from the world. Ashamed, I am,

Your friend and servant,

OLIVER P.*

8 and 9. Two poor American scraps, which our New-England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England.

GENTLEMEN, 'Whitehall,' 29th March 1655.

Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a farther opportunity.

In the mean while we were willing to let you know, That you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest,

Your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, 'hostile rather than neutral,' which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,[8] Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known in Jamaica, had laid hold of certain 'French Forts,' and indeed of a whole French region, the

[7] Fenton's *Waller*, pp. 113 and cix.

* In the *Waller* Archives, Beaconsfield; copied by a 'Rev. L. B. Larking,' Cousin of the now Waller;—printed in *Notes-and-Queries* Newspaper, 2d Jan. 1858. (*Note of* 1869.)

† Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's *Collection*, and elsewhere.

[8] Thurloe, iv. 75.

region now called *Nova Scotia*, then called *Acadie*; of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession;[9]—as the following small document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America.

We have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April 1655.

OLIVER P.*

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following small Excerpts to be added:

Grant of Privy Seal: '6th June 1655, to Major Robert Sedgwick, '£1,793. 7*s.* 8*d.*, in full of his Account for service done against the French.' And

Ditto, '28th July 1656, to Captain John Leverett, £4,482. 3*s.* 11½*d.*, in full 'satisfaction of all sums of money due to him upon Account of his receipts and 'disbursements about the Forts taken from the French in America, and of his 'Salary for 760 days, at 15*s. per diem*.'[10]

Oliver kept his Forts and his *Acadie*, through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

[9] In Bancroft's *History of the United States* (Boston, 1837), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

* Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their *Third Series*, vii. 121.——In vol. ii. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary MS. *Records of the Long Parliament* still extant at New York,—which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazingly curious 'Records' at New York turn-out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the *Commons Journals* of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in *manuscript*, was *printed* here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Buttershops and elsewhere!

[10] *Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; *Fifth Report* (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.

10. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Hertfordshire.

Sir, Whitehall, 24th April 1655.

Having occasion to speak with you upon some Affairs relating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you. I rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.*

At Blackdown House in Sussex, now and for long past the residence of a family named Yaldwin, are preserved two Letters Patent signed 'Oliver P.,' of date 3d December 1656, appointing 'William Yaldwin Esq.' High Sheriff of Sussex. Printed in Dallaway's *Rape of Arundel* (p. 363); need not be reprinted here.

* *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 379.

No. 29.

Suffolk Yeomanry.

[Vol. iii. p. 82.]

The Suffolk Commission for a select mounted County-Militia, still remains; one remaining out of many that have perished. Addressed to the Humphrey Brewster whom we have occasionally met with before.[1]

Instructions unto Colonel Humphrey Brewster, commissionated by his Highness the Lord Protector to be Captain of a Troop of Horse to be raised within the County of Suffolk, for the service of his Highness and the Commonwealth.

1. You shall forthwith raise, enlist, and have in readiness under your command as Captain, and such Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master as his Highness shall commissionate for that purpose, One-hundred able Soldiers, the three Corporals included, well mounted for service, and armed with one good sword and case of pistols, holsters, saddle, bridle, and other furniture fit for war, to serve as a Troop of Horse in the service of the Commonwealth, as is hereafter required.

2. You shall use your utmost endeavour that the said Troops shall be men of good life and conversation; and before their being listed shall promise that they will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, against all who shall design or attempt anything against his Highness's Person, or endeavour to disturb the Public Peace. And the like engagement shall be taken by the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master of the said Troop.

3. You shall be ready to draw forth and muster the said Troop, armed and fitted as aforesaid, upon the 25th day of December next ensuing, from which time the said Troop, Officers and Soldiers, shall be deemed to be in the actual service of his Highness and the Commonwealth, and be paid accordingly. And you shall also draw forth the said Troops four times in every year within the county of Suffolk, completely furnished as before mentioned, to be raised and mustered by such persons as shall from time to time be appointed by the Protector.

[1] Antea, p. 402.

4. You shall also at all other times have the said Troops in all readiness as aforesaid at forty-eight hours' warning, or sooner if it may be, whensoever his Highness, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, shall require the same for the suppressing of any invasion, rebellion, insurrection, or tumult, or performing of any other service within England and Wales. And in case that any of the said service shall continue above the space of Twenty-eight days in one year, the said Officers and Soldiers shall, after the expiration of the said Twenty-eight days, be paid according to the establishment of the Army then in force, over and besides what is agreed to be paid unto them by these presents, for so long as they shall continue in the said service.

5. That in case any shall make default in appearance, without just and sufficient cause, or shall not be mounted, armed and provided as aforesaid, or shall offend against good manners or the laws of war; that every person so offending shall be liable to such punishment as the Captain or chief Officer present with the Troops, with advice of the persons appointed to take the said musters, shall think fit: provided the said punishment extends no farther than loss of place or one year's pay.

6. That in consideration of the service to be performed as aforesaid, you shall receive for the use of the said Troop the sum of One-thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the public revenue by quarterly payments, to be distributed according to the proportions following: To yourself, as Captain, one-hundred pounds per annum; to the Lieutenant fifty pounds per annum; to the Cornet twenty-five pounds per annum; to the Quarter-Master thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence per annum; to each of the three Corporals, two pounds 'additional' per annum; one Trumpet, five pounds six shillings and four-pence per annum; and to each Soldier eight pounds per annum.

OLIVER P.*

Whitehall, 26th October 1655.

---

* In the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge; descendant of Brewster's.

No. 30.

SPEECH SHOULD-BE 'XV.'

[Vol. iii. p. 251.]

FINAL Speech on that matter of the Kingship (concerning *which* it is gracefully altogether silent); that is to say, Speech on *accepting* the Humble Petition and Advice, with the Title of King withdrawn, and that of Protector substituted as he had required: Painted Chamber, Monday 25th May 1657.[1]

MR. SPEAKER,—I desire to offer a word or two unto you; which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of a human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned,—with the loss and prejudice of these Three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that by their prayers I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going along, will enable to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is: and nothing else 'will.'

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire you, I mean of the Parliament:—That seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying-on of the government of these Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied, for the enabling to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted; for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is, and I can say 'it' in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 539, 537 (last entry there).

a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that have been engaged: for you have satisfied[2] your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty, when your Committee which you were pleased to send to me to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings to help my conscience and judgment,—I was then bold to offer to them several considerations: which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired; and therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, howsoever desirable great places may seem to be to other men; I say, nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God,—of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these Nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also,—concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything; save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided-for.*

[2] Query, testified?

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 439-40.

No. 31.

From 1657. LAST ROYALIST PLOT.

[Vol. iii. p. 72.]

1. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford.*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is intrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs,—

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency. Not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of Piety and Learning, and to the continuing and farther settling of good Order and Government amongst you; which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.*

* Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

2. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry: These.*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a Head Schoolmaster settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late Schoolmaster thereof,

Have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans late of Penegos in the County of Montgomery, as a fit person, both for piety and learning, to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School; and That, so far as in yourselves 'is,' the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly.

Which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657.*

---

3. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These.*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby.

To put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of your Commissioners formerly sent to you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid. Letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

We desire you to let us hear from you, from time to time, what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657.†

* *Endowed Grammar-Schools*, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, art. Salop.

† City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 419).

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent; but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

---

4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

For Colonel Fox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford: These. For our special service.

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans: to be speedily sent.

SIR, Whitehall, 4th February 1657.

By our last Letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier Party (who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad);—and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues. And we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; 'they' being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of Settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their Adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable Petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England;" designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into confusion;—and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the Debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had a tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing such humours;—having done nothing in fourteen days but debate Whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the

bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the Foundation we stand upon,—thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament;—which I have done this day:—And to give you notice thereof; that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable Petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do farther let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and Troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.*

5. *For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These.*

Gentlemen, Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have Twenty-two Ships of War ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this Nation. And the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, That you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this Letter. I rest,

Your very assured friend,

Oliver P.†

* *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 313.

† City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 421).

No. 32.

Two Mandates to Cambridge University.

[Vol. iii. p. 84.]

1. That John Castle be made Master of Arts:

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—Whereas by our appointment several Students in our University of Cambridge have been invited abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have been by us assured that they should not suffer any prejudice in the University by reason of their absence in the said service: And whereas a petition hath been exhibited on the behalf of Mr. John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as Minister in the Newcastle Frigate, he was disappointed of taking his degree of Master of Arts (as by course he ought), and that he cannot now, since his return, commence without the loss of one year's seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident:

In performance of our said promise, and for the future encouragement of others in the like service, We do hereby signify unto you, That it is our will and pleasure that the said John Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and allowed the same seniority which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees.

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658.*

Castle, the Books indicate, had entered Trinity at the same time, and been under the same Tutor, with a very famous person, '*John Driden Northampt. admissus Pens.*'—both, namely, were admitted 'Pensioners,' in Sept. 1649.

* Cambridge Archives, 'Grace-Book H. p. 181.' Communicated by Rev. J. Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College.

2. That Benjamin Rogers be made Bachelor of Music,—'a Form of Oliver Cromwell's Mandats,' says Baker, who has excerpted this one.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge.

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had some years before 'been' admitted in a college: And whereas we are also certified that Benjamin Rogers hath attained to eminency and skill in that faculty:—We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your congregations assembled in that our University; he paying such dues as are belonging to that degree, and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in music. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658

* Copy in Harl. MSS. no. 7053, f. 152 (Baker MSS. x. 373);—and as before, in 'Grace-Book H. p. 180.'——The Originals will never turn up. In the same Register of 'Graces,' or Decrees of Senate, is one (of date 1661) for *burning* whatsoever Mandates or Missives there are from Cromwell; whereby doubtless the Originals (with small damage to *them*, and some satisfaction to the Heads of Houses) were destroyed.

INDEX

TO

CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

INDEX.

Abbot, Colonel, in Ireland, ii. 18, 68.
Aberdeen, Provost, at Dunbar Fight, ii. 113. See Jaffray.
Alablaster, Dr., preaches Popery, i. 58.
Allen, Trooper, examined, i. 238 ; Ludlow's mistake concerning, iii. 31.
Allen, Adjutant-General, his account of Prayer-Meeting at Windsor, i. 275-278 ; disturbances by, iii. 30-33.
Allertoun House, Cromwell at, ii. 194, 195.
Alured, Thomas, M.P., letter by, i. 53.
Alured, Col. Matthew, captures Scots Committee, ii. 20 ; Anabaptist, cashiered, 301-303 ; Cromwell's letter to, 302.
Alured, Col. John, King's Judge, ii. 303.
Alyth, Scots Committee extinguished at, ii. 219.
Amps, Mr. Thomas, plotting at his house, ii. 295.
Anabaptists favoured by Cromwell, i. 193.
Antichrist, ii. 37 ; designated by Cromwell, 312, 314 ; Magistracy considered Antichristian, 313 ; Spain, iii. 85, 111.
Apprentices, riots of, i. 107, 109, 246, 275.
Ardes, Lord of, assists Ormond, i. 414 ; at Wexford, 430 ; at Ross, ii. 4.
Argyle, Marquis, dines with Cromwell, i. 336 ; Cromwell's letter to, 320 ; his party in 1650, ii. 145.
Arklow, skirmish at, ii. 15.
Armstrong, Sir Thomas, notice of, ii. 15.
Army, King's and Parliament's, i. 110 ; of Parliament in 1643, 132, 146 ; New Model, 173, 193 ; motions of, in 1645, 205 ; too near London, 233 ; against Parliament, 234, 235 ; state of, in 1647, 237 ; at Saffron Walden, 238, and *App.* iii. 351-354 ; Agitators in, i. 239 ; will not disband, 240 ; Rendezvous at Newmarket, 240 ; at Royston, 241 ; comes to St. Albans, 242 ; Manifesto and claims of, 242, 243; Declaration against, expunged, 246 ; advances to London, 247; enters London, 248 ; Prayer-Meeting at Windsor Castle, 277 ; against Treaty with Charles I., 343, 347 ; Remonstrance, 347 ; at Windsor, 348 ; in London, St. James's, &c., 354.
Army, equipments of, in 1651, ii. 201.
Arnald. See Levellers.
Array, Commission of, i. 111,—see St. Albans ; in Eastern Association, 121.
Artists in 1651, ii. 117-119.
Arundel, John, Cromwell's letter in behalf of, iii. 377.
Ascham, Anthony, slain in Spain, iii. 111, 122.
Ashburnham, Mr., notice of, ii. 306.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, fortified, i. 131.
Ashe, John, M.P., notice of, i. 343, 345 ; Cromwell's letter to, 344.
Ashton, Col., at Preston, i. 294.
Ashton, Sir Arthur, Governor of Tredah, i. 410 ; killed, 413.
Assembly, General, answer Cromwell, ii. 94 ; his letter to, 94 ; not allowed to sit, 220. See Divines.
Associated Counties, origin of, i. 114, 124 ; raise an Army, 146.
Astley, Sir Bernard, taken, i. 199.
Astley, Sir Jacob, last of royalist generals, i. 214.
Augustin, Mosstrooper, ii. 140, 174, 189.
Axtel, Col., regicide, iii. 32.
Aylesbury, Rupert at, i. 127.
Ayr Citadel built by Cromwell, ii. 221.
Ayscough, Sir George, notice of, i. 400 ; ii. 25, 282 ; his house like a ship at sea, iii. 116.

Baas, M. de, intriguer, iii. 396.
Bacon, Nathaniel, author of Burton's Diary, iii. 170 n.
Baillie, Robert, on Scots Demands, i. 97 ; Apprentices in Palaceyard, 107 ; flies from Glasgow, ii. 148 : is at Perth, 156 ; sees Cromwell in Glasgow, 193.
Baillie, General, at Preston fight, i. 293 ; perplexed, 300 ; surrenders, 300, 305.

Balder, Allegory of, i. 11.
Baltimore, Lord, and Maryland, iii. 29.
Bamfield, Col., spy, i. 230; iii. 159.
Bampton-in-the-Bush, iii. 342.
Banks, Mr., on Cromwell, i. 16.
Bannockburn, Cromwell at, ii. 201.
Barbadoes, delinquents sent to, iii. 62.
Barbarous nations, records of, i. 6.
Barbone, Mr. Praisegod, account of, ii. 255.
Barclay of Ury, Scotch Quaker, ii. 173.
Barebones's Parliament, ii. 255, 280.
Barkstead, Col., a Major-General, iii. 80 n., 129 n.
Barlow, Mrs., and Charles II., i. 431.
Barnard, Robert, Justice of Peace, i. 60, 115; his descendants, 116; Cromwell's letters to, 115, 129.
Barnet, Col. Wogan at, ii. 23.
Barton, Col., in Scotland, ii. 206.
Basing House described, i. 207; taken, 207-212.
Bastwick, Dr. John, in pillory, i. 86; his Widow provided for, iii. 253.
Bates, Dr., sent to Cromwell in Scotland, ii. 196.
Battles: Edgehill, 23d Oct. 1642, i. 114; Grantham, 13th May 1643, 132; Newbury (first), 20th Sept. 1643, 147; Winceby, 11th Oct. 1643, 156; Marston Moor, 2d July 1644, 166; Cropredy, 30th June 1644, 173; Newbury (second), 27th Oct. 1644, 174; Naseby, 14th June 1645, 189, and *App.* iii. 344-346; Langport, July 1645, 348; Preston, 17th Aug. 1648, i. 292; and *App.* iii. 358; Dunbar, 3d Sept. 1650, ii. 111-118, and *App.* iii. 374; Worcester, 3d Sept. 1651, ii. 212-217.
Baxter, Richard, opinion of Edgehill battle, i. 114; unfriendly to Cromwell, ii. 298.
Beacham, Margery, case of, iii. 73.
Beard, Dr., schoolmaster, i. 33, 57, 60.
Bedford, Earl, chief of Puritans, i. 105; General of Parliament Horse, 113.
Bedford Level, i. 88; ii. 251.
Bennet, Richard, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 29.
Berkley, Sir John, tutor to Duke of York, iii. 159.
Berners's, Lord, ancestor, i. 220.
Berney, Sir Richard, fined, i. 124.
Berry, Captain, slays General Cavendish, iii. 334, 338; Major, at Preston fight, i. 300; 200*l.* voted to, 307; Colonel, a Major-General, iii. 80 n.; in favour of Kingship, 252.
Berwick summoned by Cromwell, i. 319, 322.
Bethel, Major, at Bristol siege, i. 201.
Bible, Dr. Walton's Polyglott, iii. 392.
Biddle, Mr., Socinian, iii. 26.
Billingsley, butcher, in Gerard's plot, ii. 304.
Biographers of Cromwell criticised, i. 13. See Heath, Noble, Ludlow, Banks, Maidston, Kimber, Forster, Harris.
Birch, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 199.
Birch, Dr., prints Hammond's letters, i. 261; as an Editor, iii. 86.
Bishops, pretended Scotch, i. 39; Bishops, their lands sold, 81; ii. 238, &c.; insulted, protest, twelve sent to the Tower, i. 109.
Bishopsgate, mutiny in, i. 385.
Black Monday, ii. 237.
Blake, Col. Robert, relieved, i. 193; in Ireland, ii. 12; as Admiral, beats the Dutch, 237, 247; in Little Parliament, 255; fires the Turkish ships, iii. 67; letters from Cromwell to, 67, 75, 78, 100, 102, 113, 254; letter to Cromwell, 69; sends thirty-eight wagon-loads of silver to London, 153; beats the Spaniards at Santa Cruz, 218, 252; death of, 219, 254.
Bletchington House taken, i. 180, and *App.* iii. 341.
Bohemia, King of, dies, i. 63.
Borlace, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of, iii. 378.
Borthwick, Lord, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 153.
Boteler, Major. See Butler.
Bourchier pedigree, i. 42.
Boyd, Rev. Zachary, preaches against Cromwell, ii. 148.
Bradshaw, John, presides at trial of Charles I., i. 358; in Council of State, 363; President of, 368; Cromwell's letters to, 410; ii. 54, 91, 122, 142, 187, 197, 200, 202; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; does not sign the Recognition, iii. 25; a rejected M.P. candidate, 113.
Bramston, Judge, notice of, i. 113.
Brandenburg, Duke of, mastered, iii. 280.
Brandly, Captain, at Tredah, i. 411.
Brewster, Col. Humphrey, iii. 402, 407.
Brewster, Rev. Mr., iii. 70, 71.
Bright, Colonel, at Preston, i. 302; notice of, 320.
Briot, Nicholas, engraver, ii. 177.
Bristol, Parliament loses, i. 146; storm of, Sept. 1645, 198; Nayler's procession in, iii. 81.
Brocksmouth and House described, ii. 107, 108.
Broghil, Lord, in Ireland, ii. 11, 13, 22, 49, 55; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 308; in Committee on Kingship, iii. 178, 185, 195.
Brook, Lord, a Puritan, i. 48.

Browne, Sir John, at Abingdon, i. 181; Major-General of Scots, ii. 198; routed at Inverkeithing, 198.
Buckingham, Duke, accused, i. 55; stabbed by Felton, 56; at Kingston, 290.
Bunyan, John, notice of, i. 192.
Burford, Levellers at, i. 388.
Burgess, Roger, Cromwell's letter to, i. 183; defends Farringdon, 184.
Burgoyne, Sir John, Cromwell's letter to, i. 128.
Burleigh House, i. 137; iii. 106.
Burntisland surrenders to Cromwell, ii. 200, 205.
Burton's Diary criticised, iii. 170.
Burton, Rev. Henry, in pillory, i. 86.
Butler, Major, seizes Wildman, iii. 60; a Major-General, 80 n.
Butler, Sir Walter, Governor of Kilkenny, ii. 56; letters to Cromwell, 56, 57, 58, 62; Cromwell's letters to, 55, 57, 59, 62, 63.

Cadiz to be attempted, iii. 101.
Cahir Castle, Cromwell's letter to Governor of, ii. 53; submits, 54.
Calendar, Earl, at Preston fight, i. 293, 297, 300, 310.
Calendar House taken by Cromwell, ii. 198.
Cambridge, plate, i. 112; fortified, 117, 118; Committee, Cromwell's letters to, 137, 143, 144, and *App.* iii. 329; royalist prisoners at, i. 162; University, Cromwell's letter to heads of Trinity Hall, 357; protected, *App.* iii. 387; Cromwell's letters to Vice-Chancellor of, 415, 416.
Camdeners, the, i. 128.
Cant, its effects and prevalence, i. 6, 71; ii. 226.
Cantwell Castle surrenders, ii. 68.
Capel, Lord, motions of, i. 117, 310; condemned, 370; dies nobly, 371.
Carisbrook Castle, Charles I. confined in, i. 258.
Carlingford taken, i. 418.
Carlisle demanded by Cromwell, i. 322; Cromwell at, 339.
Carmarthen Committee, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 354.
Carre, Gibby. See Ker.
Carstairs, Principal, a Whig, ii. 173.
Carstairs, Rev. John, at Dunbar battle, ii. 113; in Edinburgh, 162, 163; account of, 173; preaches before Cromwell, 192.
Carte, Jacobite, his opinion on Tredah, i. 416.
Cartwright, Dr., message to Cromwell, ii. 70.
Castle, Col., notice of, i. 170; killed at Tredah, 413.
Castlehaven, Earl, assists Wexford, i. 424, 430; at Ross, ii. 4.
Cavendish, General, killed, i. 139; iii. 334, 338; account of, i. 141.
Cecil, Trooper, and Sindercomb, iii. 163.
Ceremonialism in 1610, i. 35.
Cervantes' death, i. 38.
Chaloner, M.P., a drunkard, ii. 250.
Chancery records, i. 48.
Chancery Court to be abolished, ii. 285; Cromwell's reform of, 299; iii. 63.
Charles, Prince, returns from Spain, i. 44,—Charles I., failures of, 52; devices to raise money, 59; goes to Scotland, 64; wars with Scots, 93; shifts to raise an army, 94; his Council of Peers, 95; endeavours to coalescè with Puritans, 105; his difficulties, 106; favours Army-plots, 106; yields a little, 108; goes to Scotland, 108; feasted by London City, 109; attempts te seize Five Members of Parliament, 110; his Queen pawns the crown-jewels, 110; attempts Hull, 111; his Commission of Array, 111; at Oxford, 125; his affairs in August 1643, 146; sends for Irish Army, 165; is completely routed, 189; his motions after Naseby battle, 193; in Wales, 213; goes to Scots Army, 214; at Holmby, 219; carried off by Joyce, 240; his manœuvring, 246; at Hampton Court, 248, 256; escapes, 256; goes to Isle of Wight, 258; at Carisbrook Castle, 258; attempts to escape, 272; is denounced, 278; last Treaty with, 332; at Hurst Castle, 354; Trial of, 357; Death-Warrant, 358; execution of, 363; his goods, &c. to be sold, 369.
Charles II. at Jersey, i. 430; character of, ii. 83; with Scots Army, 92; repudiates his father's doings, 101; descended from Elizabeth Muir, 157; crowned at Scone Kirk, 168; at Perth, 22d Nov. 1650, 172; invades England, 206; at Worcester, 210; escapes from Worcester, 214; countenances assassins, 295; at Middleburg, iii. 59; his embassy to Spain, 111; quarrels with his brother, 159; designation of, by Cromwell, 284; cold reception of, abroad, 302.
Charter House, Cromwell and the, iii. 74.
Cheapside. See Cross.
Chepstow Castle taken, i. 281.
Cheswick, Cromwell at, i. 323, 326.
Cholmely, Colonel, notice of, iii. 363.
Church-government, Cromwell's, ii. 297, 298. See Bishops.

Church, Irish Papist, Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 35-38.
Cicely, Colonel, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 346.
Civil War. See War.
Clarendon, Lord, character of, i. 71; his notice of Cromwell, 100; on Irish affairs, ii. 76.
Claypole, Lady, her character, i. 228; and family, ii. 189; death of, iii. 312.
Claypoles, the, in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307.
Clayton, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of, iii. 377.
Cleveland, John, poet, apprehended, iii. 95.
Clonmacnoise Manifesto, ii. 29-31.
Clonmel stormed, ii. 84.
Clubmen, account of, i. 194; put down, 196; their designs discovered, 197.
Coaches, hackney, in 1654, ii. 299.
Cockburnspath. See Copperspath.
Cockpit, the, bestowed on Cromwell, ii. 53.
Coke, Chief Justice, i. 38; weeps, 54.
Colchester, Cromwell's letters to Mayor of, i. 126, 135; tumults at, 281; siege of, 290, 310.
Colvil, Lord, in Ireland, ii. 51.
Committee, interim, 1641, i. 108; Lincoln, Cromwell's letter to, 131; of Safety, 136; Cambridge, Cromwell's letters to, 137, 143, 144; of Both Kingdoms, account of, 180; of Derby House, 261; Cromwell's letters to, 341; and *App.* iii. 360; of Lancashire, Cromwell's letter to, i. 294; of York, Cromwell's letters to, 308, 309; of Estates, Scotland, Cromwell's letters to, 321, 328, 334; ii. 147, 175; of Army, Cromwell's letter to, 176; of Customs, 282; Cromwell's letter to, 283.—Committees of Eastern Association, Lists of, 363-393. Of Kingship, —see Kingship.
Commonwealth established, i. 363; seal found, 382. See Seals.
Conference. See Hampton Court.
Conisby, Sheriff Thomas, sent prisoner to Parliament, i. 121.
Conway Castle, fortified, i. 250. See Williams.
Cook, Col., at Cambridge, i. 119; at Wexford, ii. 3.
Cooke, Henry, taken in Suffolk, i. 123.
Cooper, Anthony Ashley, in Little Parliament, ii. 254; in Council of State, 285 n., 296 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; is refused the Lady Mary Cromwell, iii. 110 and n.; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 113, 117; excluded, 152.
Coote, Sir Charles, in Ireland, i. 417; ii. 14.
Copperspath in Scotland, ii. 90, 107.
Coriolanus, position of, iii. 5.
Cork House, Dublin, ii. 64.
Cory, John, his letter, i. 122.
Cotton, Rev. John, character of, ii. 229-231; Cromwell's letter to, 231.
Council of State, members of, i. 363; first meeting, 368; Cromwell's letter to, 102; interim, 253, 277; Little Parliament, 284; Cromwell's, 296 n. See List.
Counties. See Associated.
Courtenay, Mr. Hugh, royalist, iii. 32.
Covenant—see Scots; taken by House of Commons, 1643, i. 151.
Covent Garden, soldiers in, i. 233.
Cowell, Col., killed, i. 318.
Cowper, Col., in Ulster, iii. 112.
Cox, Col., Cromwell's letters to, iii. 406, 413.
Cradock, Rev. Mr., iii. 71.
Crane, Sir Richard, slain, i. 199.
Crawford, Major-Gen., notice of, i. 162, 163, 164; Cromwell's letter to, 162.
Crequi, Duc de, Ambassador to Cromwell, iii. 303.
Cromwell, Mrs. Elizabeth, letters from Oliver Cromwell to, ii. 124, 188, 195; letter to Oliver Cromwell from, 171; retired to Norborough, 189.
Cromwell, Elizabeth (sister of Protector), Oliver's letter to, iii. 385.
Cromwell, Frances, and Mr. Rich, iii. 108-110; married, 110, 266.
Cromwell, Henry (son of Protector), is of Gray's Inn, i. 41; is a captain, 263; in Ireland, ii. 55, 189; in Little Parliament, 245, 285 n.; in First Parliament, 307; in Ireland, good conduct of, iii. 70; appointed Lord Deputy, 70; Oliver Cromwell's letters to, 94, 99, 112; Mary, letters to, 97, 108.
Cromwell, Major, wounded at Bristol, i. 202.
Cromwell, Mary, her letters to Henry, iii. 97, 108; married, 110, 266.
Cromwell, Oliver, significance of, to the Puritan cause, i. 12; modern reaction in favour of, 16; birth, kindred, &c., 19, 20; youth of, 22; house where born, 22; his Father's character, 23; list of his Brothers and Sisters, 19; of his Uncles and Aunts, 24, 25 n.; of his Children, 62 n.; his poverty? 25; related to Earl of Essex, 25; his great-grandfather, 26; the 'alias Williams,' 29; his Welsh pedigree, 30; origin of the name, 30; death of his grandfather, 32; idle tales of his youth, 33; his schoolmaster, 33; admitted of Cam-

bridge University, 37; death of his father, 40; death of his grandfather, 40; never of any Inn of Court, 41; marries Elizabeth Bourchier, 43; his uncle an M.P., 45; his hypochondria, 45; becomes Calvinist, 46; subscribes to Feoffee Fund, 47; is a Puritan, 48; visit to his royalist uncle, 50; heir to his uncle at Ely, 51; is M.P. for Huntingdon in 1628, 51; returns to Huntingdon, 56; first mention of in Commons Journals, 58; is Justice of Peace, 60; sells his estate, 60. Of his Letters and Speeches, 67; how to read them, 68.

Cromwell, his life at St. Ives, i. 77-83; stories of, an enthusiast? 82; at Ely, 85; character of by Warwick, 88; draining of Fen Country, 89, and ii. 252; related to Oliver St. John, i. 89; once dissolute? 41, 91; is M.P. for Cambridge, 94, 95, and *App.* iii. 327; delivers Lilburn's Petition, i. 99; Sir P. Warwick's description of him, 100; dispute with Lord Mandevil, 101; reproved by Mr. Hyde, 101; time spent at Ely, 108; intends for New England? 109; subscribes 300*l.* to reduce Ireland, 112; gets arms for Cambridge, 112; his soldiers on the alert, 113; is a Captain of Parliament horse, 113; at Edgehill battle, 114; his movements in 1643, 116; is Colonel, 117; his troopers at St. Albans, 121; takes Lowestoff, 123; preserves Associated Counties, 124; relieves Croyland, 130; skirmish at Grantham, 132; takes Stamford, 137; at Gainsborough fight, 138, and iii. 333; the beginning of his great fortunes, i. 141; is Governor of Isle of Ely, 146; his Ironsides, 147; nearly killed at Winceby, 157; complains of Lord Willoughby, 161; at Marston Moor, 166; proceeds with vigour, 174; complains of Earl Manchester, 174; would fire at the King in Battle, 175; an incendiary? 177; besieges Farringdon, 183; is Lieutenant-General of the Army, 185; at Naseby Battle, 190; heads Schismatic Party, 193; reduces the Clubmen, 195; at Bristol, 198; on uniformity in religion, 203; famous at sieges, 205; takes Winchester, 205; his justice, 206; takes Basing, 207; his character by Mr. Peters, 210; his duplicity? 236; his true character, 236; very busy, 254; lands voted to, 265; his Free Offer, 267; his two youngest daughters, 270, 272; in Wales, 281; goes north, 292; at Preston, 294; at Durham, 317; his justice, 328; at Berwick, 329, 331; at Seaton, and Moray House, Edinburgh, 333; feasted there, 336; at Carlisle, 339; his temper, 346; in London, 356; attends Trial of Charles I., 357; made one of Council of State, 363; is Commander for Ireland, 376; routs Levellers, 388; at Oxford, 389; sets out for Ireland, 391; at Bristol, 396; at Dublin, 399; takes Tredah, 409; takes Ross, ii. 7; at Cork, 22; wanted for Scotland, 25; his Declaration to Irish, 32; at Kilkenny, 55; returns to London, 75; appointed Commander-in-chief against Scots, 83, 87; conversation with Ludlow, 84; in Scotland, 89; his generosity to the Scots, 98; encamps on Pentland Hills, 98; comments on Scots Covenant, 99; at Dunbar, 104; straitened at Dunbar, 104; battle of Dunbar, 107-121; Letters to Edinburgh Ministers, 129, 141; in Glasgow, 149; Proclamation by, in Scotland, 152; another, on surrender of Edinburgh Castle, 165; in Edinburgh, 168; medal of him, 176-179; Chancellor of Oxford, 180, and *App.* iii. 387-389, 412; dangerously ill at Edinburgh, ii. 187, 196; at church in Glasgow, 192; at Allertoun House, 194-196; pursues the Scots into England, 208; Worcester battle, 212-217; comes to London, 218, 219; his government of Scotland, 221; on future government of the State, 233, 234; disbands the Rump, 250, 251; his mode of public speaking, 278; in Council of State, 285 n.; made Lord Protector, 287; personal appearance of, 287.

Cromwell removes to Whitehall, ii. 299; his First Parliament, 307, 308; difficult position of, iii. 5, 56; accident to, in Hyde Park, 27; his Mother dies, 27; appoints Major-Generals, 62, 80; assists Piedmont, 64, 303-310; dines with Triers, 66; receives Swedish Ambassador, 76; interviews with George Fox, 81, 82, 314, 315; on Popery, 122, 123; fond of music, 168; is offered the title of King, 173, 176; recreations whilst debating Kingship, 196; refuses the title of King, 251; a second time installed Protector, 255; unwell, 269, 274; invincible, 303; age and appearance, 312; last sickness of, 313; deathbed sayings and prayer, 313-318; dies, 3d September, 1658, 319.

Cromwell, Oliver (son of Protector), Cornet of horse, i. 114; death of, 167 n.

Cromwell, Oliver, Memoirs of the Protector by, ii. 73 n.
Cromwell, Richard, Protector's great-grandfather, i. 27-31.
Cromwell, Richard (son of Protector), character, i. 263 ; married, 364 ; death of, 382 ; of his Wife, 382 ; Cromwell's letter to his Wife, 398 ; Oliver's letters to, ii. 72 ; iii. 106 ; in First Parliament, ii. 307 ; his estate, iii. 108 n.
Cromwell, Mrs. Richard, her child, ii. 88.
Cromwell, Robert (eldest son of Protector), his death in early manhood, i. 43 n. ; his father's grief for, 167 ; iii. 314.
Cromwell, Thomas, Earl of Essex, i. 23 ; Oliver related to, 25.
Cromwells in the Civil War, i. 50.
Crook, Capt. Unton, iii. 31 ; Cromwell's letter to, 31 ; pursues Wagstaff and Penruddock, 61.
Cropredy. See Battle.
Cross, Cheapside and Charing, destroyed, i. 134. See Paul's, St.
Croyland relieved, i. 130.
Cudworth, Dr., of Cambridge, iii. 105.

Dalbier, Col., at Basing siege, i. 207 ; account of him, 213 ; in revolt at Kingston, 290.
Dalegarth Hall, notice of, i. 366.
Dalgetty, Dugald. See Turner, Sir James.
Dalhousie, Cromwell at, i. 336.
Danger, Scots Committee of, i. 268.
Daniel, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, ii. 200.
Danton on Government, iii. 5.
Davy, John. See Theauro.
Dawkins, Admiral, a Major-General, iii. 80 n.
Dean, Col., at Preston, i. 302 ; in Ireland, ii. 12 ; General, in Scotland, 200 ; Major-General, at Worcester battle, 214 ; in Dutch War, 237.
Dean, Cornet, Leveller, pardoned, i. 388.
Debentures of soldiers, i. 269.
Declaration against Army, i. 237 ; expunged, 246 ; by Cromwell, 317 ; by Cromwell to the Army in Ireland, 402 ; by Cromwell to Irish, ii. 32 ; by Charles Stuart against his Father, 101 ; by Lord General and Council of Officers, 252.
Declaration of Parliament, i. 54.
Delinquents, Staffordshire, i. 226 ; are searched out, 264, 366 ; ii. 238.
Denbigh, Earl, and Duke Hamilton, i. 371 ; in Council of State, 371.
Dendy, Edward, Sergeant-at-arms, 363.
Dennington Castle, i. 174, 207.
Derby, Earl, routed at Wigan, ii. 209 ; taken at Worcester, 217 ; beheaded, 217.
Derby House. See Committee.
Desborow, Captain, at Cambridge, i. 119 ; Major, at Bristol siege, 200 ; Colonel, at Conference at Speaker's, ii. 232-234 ; in Council of State, 285 n., 296 n. ; made Major-General, iii. 62, 80 n. ; on Committee of Kingship, 178 ; against title of King, 252 ; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
D'Ewes, Sir Simond, cited, i. 99, 121, 178, 346 ; notices of Cromwell, 112 ; purged by Pride, 356.
Dick, Sir William, notice of, i. 336.
Dives, Sir Lewis, notice of, i. 197.
Divines, Westminster Assembly of, i. 97, 151, 160, 231.
Dodsworth, Captain, character of, i. 126.
Doon Hill, Scots Army at, ii. 105.
Dorislaus, Dr., notice of, i. 254, 357.
Douglas, Will, his rhymes on Cromwell, i. 431.
Downhall, Mr., ejected, i. 79 ; account of, iii. 324 ; Cromwell's letter to, 323.
Drayton, Fen, Warrant to people of, i. 117, 118.
Drogheda. See Tredah.
Drury Lane, Cromwell lives in, i. 228.
Dryasdust Societies, i. 4, 8.
Dryden's cousin, ii. 285 n.
Dublin, Cromwell in, i. 399 ; Cromwell's letter to Commissioners at, ii. 64.
Dukinfield, Governor of Chester, i. 287.
Dunbar, town described, ii. 105 ; Cromwell at, 90, 97, 104, 105 ; battle of, 111-113. See Battle.
Dunbar prisoners, sufferings of, ii. 122 n., and iii. 374, 375 ; in New England, ii. 230.
Duncannon, ships taken at, ii. 14.
Dunch of Pusey, John, collector of letters, i. 364 ; marries Ann Mayor, ii. 205 ; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307 ; Cromwell's letter to, iii. 257.
Dundalk, Governor of, Cromwell's letter to, i. 409.
Dundas, Governor Walter, letter to General Whalley, ii. 130 ; letters to, from Cromwell, 131, 134, 158, 159, 160, 162, 164 ; his letters to Cromwell, 132 ; 158, 159, 161, 163, 164.
Dundee stormed by General Monk, ii. 219.
Dunkirk taken, iii. 265, 303.
Dunse Law, Scots Army at, i. 93.
Durham College, ii. 184-187.
Dutch War, ii. 237, 247 ; Treaty, 299.

Earle, Sir Walter, sent to Charles I., i. 223.
Edgehill. See Battle.

Edinburgh, riot in, i. 87; Cromwell in, 333, 336; Scots Army near, ii. 93, 103, 104; Ministers and Cromwell, 129-141, 144; Castle besieged, 144, 157-166; High Church, Cromwell in, 144; Castle surrenders, 164-166.
Eleven Members, the. See Members.
Eliot, Sir John, motion by, i. 54; dies in the Tower, 59.
Elizabeth, Queen, tuned the pulpits, i. 58.
Ely, scene in Cathedral of, i. 159; fortified, 171; Charity, iii. 325, 326; Commission of peace in, 347.
Empson, Lieut., in Scotland, rescues General Lambert, ii. 92; character and promotion, 169, 170.
Engagers, the, i. 323.
England in 1642, i. 112; deluded by Cant, ii. 226; under Cromwell, iii. 110.
English, genius, i. 7; iii. 320; character of, i. 7, 52, 59, 107.
Enniscorthy Castle, taken, i. 421; surprised, ii. 48.
Episcopacy in danger, i. 109. See Church-government.
Erasmus's ape, i. 108.
Esmonds, the, seat of, i. 420.
Essex, Earl, General of Parliament Army, i. 113; is discontented, 134; relieves Gloucester, 147; is defeated in Cornwall in 1644, 173; is pensioned and dies, 177; funeral of, 228.
Eure, Lord, one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Evelyn of Wilts, Sir John, in Derby-House Committee, i. 262.
Everard, Leveller, i. 384.
Ewer, Col., takes Chepstow Castle, i. 282; presents Army Remonstrance, 347; succeeds Col. Hammond, 354; at Tredah, 415; at Kilkenny, 59, 60, 67.
Exchange, Royal, has been twice burned, i. 81.

Fairfax, Lord, in Yorkshire, i. 125; victory by, 135; beaten, 145; besieged in Hull, 152; death of, 287.
Fairfax, Sir Thomas, serves under Earl Manchester, i. 156; General of New Model Army, 177 n.; interview with Clubmen, 194; at Bath, 222; adheres to Commons, 224; meets the King, 230; Governor of Hull, 255; in Kent, 286; becomes Lord Fairfax, 287; at trial of Charles I., 357; of Council of State, 363; half Presbyterian, ii. 25; refuses to fight the Scots, 84; gives up his Commission, 84; in Church Commission, 298; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; Cromwe 's letters to, i. 178, 185, 196, 205, 212, 221, 223, 226, 229, 232, 234, 253, 254, 266, 287, 318, 332, 347; iii. 340.
Falkland, Lord, killed, i. 147.
Famine in Ireland, ii. 9.
Farley mansion, ii. 238.
Fast, Monthly, ii. 268 n.
Fauconberg, Lord, marries Mary Cromwell, iii. 110, 266; character of, 266; his letter on Cromwell's death, 319.
Fawley Park for sale, ii. 301.
Feak, Anabaptist, against Cromwell, ii. 294.
Fell, Dr., at Oxford, ii. 179.
Felsted Free-School, i. 43, 91.
Felton, John, character and death, i. 56.
Fens, draining of the, i. 88; drained, ii. 251.
Fenton, Sir William, Commissioner at Cork, ii. 13, 22.
Fenwick, Col., besieges Hume Castle, ii. 168.
Feoffees, purchases by, i. 47; prosecuted by Laud, 47; suppressed, 65; losses of, 81.
Ferral, Lieut.-Gen., attacks Passage, ii. 23.
Ferrar's, Nicholas, establishment, i. 64.
Fethard Town, described, ii. 50.
Fiennes, Nathaniel, surrenders Bristol, i. 145; in Derby-House Committee, 262; in Council of State, ii. 297 n.; Keeper of Great Seal, iii. 64; in Committee of Kingship, 185, 190; his speech analysed, 275.
Finch, Col., in Gerard's plot, ii. 304.
Finch, Speaker, his conduct, i. 58; flics, 98.
Fincham, Thomas, Cromwell's letter in behalf of, iii. 386.
Firebrace, Henry, notice of, i. 273.
Five Members, the, i. 110.
Fleet, revolt of, i. 291.
Fleetwood, Capt., at Cambridge, i. 119; is Lieut.-Col., 164; Lieut.-Gen. at Dunbar, ii. 117; at Worcester, 212-214; Deputy in Ireland, 235; Cromwell's letters to, 245, 281, 301; iii. 71; of Council of State, ii. 296 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; conduct in Ireland, iii. 70; Major-General, 81 n.; against title of King, iii. 252.
Fleming, Adjutant, notice of, i. 222; killed, 281.
Fleming, Sir Oliver, Master of Ceremonies, i. 368.
Forster, John, on Cromwell, i. 17.
Fortescue, Major-Gen., in Jamaica, iii. 86; Cromwell's letter to, 90; death of, 93.

Fox, George, Quaker, iii. 26; and Cromwell, 81, 314, 315.
Fox, Somerset, his plot, ii. 303, 306. See Gerard, Vowel.
France, Cromwell's letter to King of, iii. 304.
France, treaty with, iii. 65, 69, 85, 259.
French Revolution compared to English, i. 236.
Fuller's *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, i. 58.

Gainsborough, relieved, i. 137, 142; iii. 333.
Geddard village, murder at, ii. 169.
Geddes, Jenny, and her stool, i. 87.
Gell, Sir John, notice of, i. 131.
Generals, Major-, their office, iii. 63; names of, 80 n.; withdrawn, 153.
Gerard's plot, ii. 303; he is beheaded, 306.
Germany, Emperor of, Papist, iii. 280.
Gibbons, Major, defeats Royalists, i. 290.
Gibraltar, Cromwell's idea of, iii. 101, 113, 114.
Gibson, Bishop, on Cromwell, i. 17.
Gillespie, Rev. Patrick, interview with Cromwell, ii. 193.
Glasgow, Assembly there, i. 93; Cromwell at, ii. 148, 149, 192; riot in, 193.
Glencairn's rebellion in Highlands, ii. 220, 301.
Gloucester besieged, i. 147; relieved by Earl of Essex, 147; Cromwell's letters for defence of, iii. 401, 412, 414.
Glynn, Recorder in the Tower, i. 262 n.; Chief-Justice on Committee of Kingship, iii. 189.
Goddard, Guibon, in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307; his narrative of, iii. 3, 25.
Goffe, Major, exhorts at Windsor Castle, i. 277; is at Dunbar, ii. 118; a Major-Gen., iii. 80 n.; in favour of Kingship, 252.
Goodman, Bishop, character of, i. 26.
Goodson, Vice-Admiral, character of, iii. 86; Cromwell's letter to, 87.
Goodwin, Robert, M.P., sent to Charles I., i. 223.
Goodwin, Rev. Thomas, preaches to Parliament, ii. 308.
Goring, Lord, pardoned, i. 370.
Grampian Hills, Charles II. flies to, ii. 146.
Grantham. See Battle.
Greenwood, Dr., Cromwell's letters to, ii. 180, 182; iii. 387.
Gresham College, Cromwell's letter to Governors of, iii. 105.
Grey of Groby, Lord, in Civil War, i. 131; assists in Pride's Purge, 355; in prison, iii. 60.
Grey of Wark, Lord, commands Eastern Association, i. 114.
Grimston, Harbottle, after Restoration, i. 236.
Grocers' Hall, dinner at, i. 389.
Grove, Major, beheaded, iii. 61.
Guildhall, scene at, i. 247, 248.
Guilliams, Capt., slain, i. 199.
Guizot, M., criticised, i. 194 n.
Gustavus the Great dies, i. 63.
Guthry, Rev. James, interview with Cromwell, ii. 193.

Hacker, Col., at execution of Charles I., i. 358; routs Mosstroopers, ii. 169, 170; Cromwell's letter to, 170.
Haddington, Cromwell at, ii. 91, 115.
Hailes, Lord, character of, ii. 191.
Hall, Bishop, pamphlet of, i. 97.
Hamilton, Duke James, flies to King, i. 151; taken, 224; prepares an army, 268; his army ready, 290; defeated at Preston, taken at Uttoxeter, 292-310; escapes, and is retaken, 365; condemned, 370; executed, 371.
Hamilton, Duke William, succeeds his brother, i. 371; taken at Worcester, ii. 216; dies, 217.
Hammond, Lieut.-Gen., summoned by Commons, i. 238; notice of, 260.
Hammond, Col. Robert, at Bristol siege, i. 200; the King flies to, 258; character of, 260; provided for, 272; letters from Cromwell to, 261, 272, 349.
Hammond, Dr., King's chaplain, i. 260.
Hampden, John, his mother, i. 25; a Puritan, 48; shipmoney, 66, 83; trial of, 88; is Colonel in Parliament Army, 113; impatient, 125, 127; proposed as Lord General, 134; mortally wounded, 136; Cromwell to, on Ironsides, iii. 205.
Hampton-Court Conference, i. 34, 35. See Charles I.
Hand, Mr., Cromwell's letter to, iii. 326.
Hapton parishioners, letter concerning, i. 221.
Harley, Col., Presbyterian, i. 237, 356.
Harrington, Sir James, Cromwell's letter to, i. 392.
Harrington, James, author of *Oceana*, i. 273.
Harris's Life of Cromwell, i. 80 n.
Harrison, Thomas, notice of, i. 23; at Basing siege, 209; at Preston, 302; Major-Gen., in Scotland, ii. 208; Letter to, by Cromwell, iii. 380 (*App.*); at Conference at Speaker's, ii. 232, 233; at disbanding of Rump, 249, 250; in Council of State, 285 n.; Anabaptist, dismissed, 294; and Fifth Monarchy, 315; in prison, iii. 60, 186.

Hartfell, Lord, in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 308.
Hartlib, Samuel, letter on dissolution of Cromwell's Second Parliament, iii. 299.
Harvey, on Cromwell's death, iii. 313, &c.
Haselrig, Sir Arthur, one of the Five Members, i. 110; Governor of Newcastle, 331, 332; in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307; opposed to Cromwell, iii. 25; Cromwell's letters to, ii. 106, 121, 122 n.; iii. 374, 375; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 117; excluded, 152; readmitted, 267; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268; sits in the Commons, 277, 294; his death, 291 n.
Hastings, Mr., for the King, i. 131
Haverfordwest, Cromwell's letters to Mayor of, iii. 356, 357.
Haynes, Col., Deputy Major-Gen., iii. 80 n.; apprehends poet Cleveland, 95.
Heath, James, 'Carrion Heath,' on Cromwell, i. 14.
Henderson, Sir John, renegade Scot, i. 130, 156.
Henry, Prince, death of, i. 36.
Henshaw, Major, in Gerard's plot, ii. 304.
Herbert, Colonel, at Bristol siege, i. 201; in Wales, 285.
Herbert, Lord, afterwards Duke Beaufort, ii. 189; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307.
Heroic and unheroic ages, i. 73.
Heroism, Puritan, i. 3, 10.
Hewit, Dr., plot and execution of, iii. 300, 301.
Hewson, Col., at Langford House, i. 213; at Tredah, 415; Governor of Dublin, ii. 64; joins Cromwell in the South, 66, 67; one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Heylin, lying Peter, i. 63.
Hill, Dr. Thomas, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Cromwell's letter to, i. 259.
Hill, William, notice of, i. 316.
Hills, Henry, printer to Protector, iii. 34.
Hilsden House taken, i. 161.
Hinchinbrook House, i. 21; sale of, 49; Charles I. at, 240.
Hippesley, Sir John, sent to Charles I., i. 223.
Hispaniola, failure of attack on, iii. 83, 84.
Historians, character of good, i. 8; labour of, 12.
History of Puritanism, its difficulties, i. 3-10.
Histriomastix. See Prynne.
Hitch, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's letter to, i. 160.
Hobart, Col. Sir Miles, i. 130.
Hodgson, Capt., character of, i. 292; in Scots War, ii. 87; narrative by, 90.
Holborn, General, invites Cromwell to Edinburgh, i. 338; at Dunbar battle, ii. 111 n.
Holland, Earl, at Kingston, i. 290; condemned, 370; executed, 371.
Holland House, i. 248.
Hollar, Wenceslaus, taken at Basing, i. 211.
Holles, Denzil, holds down the Speaker, i. 59; imprisoned, 59; Presbyterian, 237; a leader in Parliament, 239. See Members, Eleven.
Holmby, Charles I. at, i. 219, 230.
Homer's Iliad, i. 7.
Hooke, Alderman, notice of, ii. 86.
Hopton, Sir Ingram, at Winceby, i. 157.
Hopton, Sir Ralph, character of, i. 205.
Horse, wooden, described, i. 378.
Horton, Col., defeats the Welsh, i. 282; dies, ii. 9.
Hotham, Capt., doings and arrest of, i. 136.
Hothams, the, executed, i. 234.
Howard's, Dr., Letters, iii. 74 n.
Howard, Col., in Little Parliament, ii. 254; attends Cromwell to Parliament, 308; Deputy Major-General, iii. 80 n.; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Howlet, Mr., tutor to Cromwell, i. 37, 38.
Hubbert, Capt., passed over, ii. 170
Hughes, Col., Governor of Chepstow, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 354.
Hull, Charles I. attempts, i. 111; besieged, 150, 152, 157; governors of, 255.
Hume Castle besieged, ii. 168.
Hungary, King of, Papist, iii. 280.
Hungerford, Anthony, Royalist, ii. 239, 244; Cromwell's letters to, 240, 244.
Hungerford, Henry, notice of, ii. 239.
Hungerford, Sir Edward, notice of, ii. 239.
Huntingdon, described, i. 21.
Huntly, Marquis, for Charles II., ii. 146, 202.
Hurry, Col. Sir John, wounded at Preston, i. 298; taken with Montrose, and executed, 304 n.
Hursley described, i. 263.
Hurst Castle, Charles I. at, i. 354.
Hutchinson, Col., Governor of Nottingham, i. 343.
Hyde, Mr. See Clarendon, Lord.
Hyde Park, Army near, i. 248; accident to Cromwell in, iii. 27.

Impropriations, Lay, meaning of, i. 35. See Feoffees.
Inchgarvie taken, ii. 200, 203.
Inchiquin, Lord, assaults Carrick, ii. 20.
Incumbrance, Parliamentary defining of, ii. 236, 263; iii. 240.

Independents and Presbyterians, i. 174, 229, 235.
Indies, West, expedition to, failed, iii. 78, 83.
Ingoldsby, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 201.
Innes, Lieut.-Col., taken, i. 304.
Instrument of Government, the, ii. 287, 293; new, iii. 174, 219.
Inverkeithing, battle of, ii. 198, 199; Colours taken at, iii. 384.
Inverness Citadel built by Cromwell, ii. 221.
Ireland, misrepresentation of Cromwell's doings in, ii. 32, 43.
Ireland, narrative of Cromwell's campaign in, ii. 53.
Ireland, state of, in 1649, i. 404, 405.
Ireton, Commissary-General, at Bristol siege, i. 199; weds Bridget Cromwell, 214; character of, 227, 242; in Ireland, 396; President of Munster, ii. 66; Deputy in Ireland, 75; dies in Ireland, 75; Cromwell's letter to, 125; character of, 235.
Ireton, Mrs., Cromwell's letter to, i. 227; widow, married to Fleetwood, ii. 235; notice of, 282; iii. 72.
Ireton, Alderman, in Little Parliament, ii. 255; of Customs Committee, 282.
Irish Massacre in 1641, i. 108; Charles I. sends for Army of, 165; Papists found in Arms in England to be hanged, 169; Cromwell's declaration to the, ii. 32; forces go abroad, 75; Puritan Settlement, 76. See Papists.
Ironsides, Cromwell's, described, i. 146; first glimpse of, 149; Cromwell to Hampden on the, iii. 205, 206.

Jaffray, Provost, at Dunbar battle, ii. 113; at Edinburgh, 162, 163; account of, 172; a Quaker, &c., 173; in Little Parliament, 255.
Jamaica, Island, taken, iii. 83.
James, Col. John, Governor of Worcester, after the Battle, ii. 217 n.
James I., King, visits Hinchinbrook, i. 32; a theologian, 35; his falling-off, 36; returns to Scotland, 39; his miscalculations, 44; dies, 45.
Jedburgh. See Geddard.
Jenner, Robert, M.P., notice of, i. 343; Cromwell's letter to, 344.
Jephson, Governor of Bandon, ii. 20.
Jesuit practices in England, ii. 317.
Jews, endeavour to settle in England, iii. 96.
Johnson, Colonel, shot, ii. 65.
Johnson, Samuel, his hypochondria, i. 45.
Johnston, Archibald, Lord Registrar of Scotland, account of, i. 181; ii. 191; Cromwell's letter to, 190.
Jones, Col. Michael, occupies Dublin, i. 251; routs Irish at Dungan Hill, 251; Cromwell's letter to, 252; routs Ormond's army, 396; vote in favour of, 398; ii. 11; dies, 23.
Jones, Col. John, regicide, i. 252.
Jones, Col. Philip, in Council of State, ii. 297 n.; on Committee of Kingship, iii. 211.
Jones, Inigo, taken at Basing, i. 211.
Jones, Quartermaster, Samuel, notice of, i. 285.
Joyce, Cornet, carries off the King, i. 240; Lieut.-Col., imprisoned, iii. 203.

Keinton fight. See Battle, Edgehill.
Kelsey, Major, at Langford House, i. 213; becomes Colonel, a Major-General, iii. 80 n.
Kenrick, Colonel, Cromwell's letter to, i. 273.
Kent in insurrection, i. 269.
Ker, Col. Gilbert, interview with, ii. 101; at Glasgow, 143; in Scots Army, 146; Remonstrance by, 149-151, 154, 156; his forces routed, 154.
Ker, Earl Somerset. See Overbury.
Ker, Sir Andrew, notice of, i. 326.
Kilkenny taken, ii. 55-64, 67, 68; Irish at, 55.
Killing no murder, iii. 167 n.
Kimber, Rev., on Cromwell, i. 17.
Kimbolton, Lord, with the Five Members, i. 110. See Mandevil, Manchester.
Kingship, Oliver Cromwell's, iii. 173, 176, 181, 187, 195, 211, 212, 249; Committee on, 178, 185; he refuses it, 251.
Kingston, insurrection at, i. 289.
King Street, Cromwell lives in, i. 274.
Kirkcudbright, Lord, invites Cromwell to Edinburgh, i. 338.
Knyvett, Thomas, taken at Lowestoff, i. 123; Cromwell's letter to, 221.
Kurisees, Irish, go abroad, ii. 74; in Piedmont, iii. 65.

Ladies taken at Naseby, i. 191; at Basing House, 209.
Lambert, General, described, i. 242; in the North, 287; at Edinburgh, 331, 336, 339; at Pontefract, 356; Major-General in Scots War, ii. 87; skirmishes with the Scots, 91, 92; at Dunbar battle, 110, 117; routs Colonel Ker, 153, 154; at Glasgow, 193; routs General Browne at Inverkeithing, 199, 200; at Worcester battle, 212; in the Highlands, 220; of Council of State, 296 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; a Major-General of Counties, iii. 80 n.; against title of King, 251; dismissed, 252.

Lammermoor Hills, described, ii. 105, Scots Army at, 105.
Langdale, Sir Marmaduke, joins Scots, i. 287; escapes, 343.
Langley, Colchester Captain, i. 126.
Langport, Battle of, iii. 348.
Laud, William, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, i. 36; finds no religion in Scotland, 40; persecutions by, 47; inclined to Popery, 57; Parliament intends to accuse, 58; accompanies Charles I. to Scotland, 64; roots out Feoffees, 65; is in the Tower, 98, 110; beheaded, 234.
Lauderdale, Earl, taken at Worcester, ii. 216; incident to, in London, 217; notice of, 218.
Laughern, Lieut.-Col., shot, ii. 65.
Laughern, Major-General, revolts, i. 281; condemned to death, 372.
Law, Reform of, ii. 236, 237, 242, 285.
Lawrence, Col. Henry, of Council of State, ii. 296 n.
Lea Hamlet, described, i. 140.
Lecturers, running, described, i. 47, 82.
Lehunt, Col., commissioned, i. 289.
Leicester taken and retaken, i. 187, 193.
Leith Citadel built by Cromwell, ii. 221.
Leland's Itinerary, i. 29.
Lemon, Mr., classified Records, i. 368.
Lenthall, Hon. William, Speaker, Cromwell's letters to, i. 192, 198, 207, 213, 257, 282, 290, 301, 329, 336, 337, 393, 400, 411, 417, 420; ii. 7, 13, 18, 22, 49, 65, 86, 114, 154, 167, 183, 185, 199, 205, 206, 214, 215; iii. 333, 351, 352, 353, 363, 376, 377, 378, 383, 384; Conference at his house, ii. 232-234; unseated, 250; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; iii. 3; against Law Reform, 64; on Committee of Kingship, 185, 192; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Lesley, Alexander, Fieldmarshal, at Dunse Law, i. 93; Earl of Leven, enters England with Scots Army in 1644, 161; at Marston Moor, 166; cannonades the Hamilton Engagers from Edinburgh Castle, 311; entertains Cromwell at dinner, 336; at Alyth, and sent to the Tower, ii. 220.
Lesley, General David, extinguishes Montrose, i. 214; at head of Kirk Party, 311; General of Scots, ii. 93, 198; his caution, 97; letter to Cromwell, 98; Cromwell's letters to, 99, 172; and the English soldier at Dunbar, 109.
Lesley, Ludovic, Governor of Berwick, Cromwell's letter to, i. 319.
L'Estrange, Roger, i. 150.
Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. I.) One abstracted, i. 49 (*App.* iii. 323); how to read them, 68; corrections of originals, 69.
— i. To Mr. Storie (St. Ives, 11 Jan. 1635), 80.
— ii. — Mrs. St. John (Ely, 13 Oct. 1638), 90.
— iii. — Mr. Willingham (London, Feb. 1640), 96.
— iv. — R. Barnard. Esq. (Huntingdon 23 Jan. 1642), 115.
— v. — Deputy-Lieutenants of Suffolk (Cambridge, 10 March 1642), 119.
— vi. — Mayor of Colchester (Cambridge, 23 March 1642), 126.
— Sir Samuel Luke, 8 March 1643. (*App.* iii. 339.)
— vii. — Sir J. Burgoyne (Huntingdon, 10 April 1643), 128.
— viii. — R. Barnard, Esq. (Huntingdon, 17 April 1643), 129.
— ix. — Lincoln Committee (Lincolnshire, 3 May 1643), 131.
— x. — Unknown (Grantham, 13 May 1643), 133.
— xi. — Mayor of Colchester (Lincolnshire, 28 May 1643), 135.
— xii. — Cambridge Commissioners (Huntingdon, 31 July 1643), 137.
— xiii. — Unknown (Huntingdon, 2 Aug. 1643), 142.
— xiv. — Cambridge Commissioners (Huntingdon, 6 Aug. 1643), 143.
— xv. — Cambridge Commissioners (Peterborough, 8 Aug. 1643), 144.
— xvi. — Suffolk Committee (Cambridge, Sept. 1643), 148.
— xvii. — O. St. John, Esq. (Eastern Association, 11 Sept. 1643), 149.
— xviii. — Suffolk Committee (Holland, Lincolnshire, 28 Sept. 1643), 152.
— xix. — Rev. Mr. Hitch (Ely, 10 Jan. 1643), 160.
— xx. — Major-General Crawford (Cambridge, 10 March 1643), 162.
— xxi. — Colonel Walton (York, 5 July 1644), 167.
— xxii. — Ely Committee (Lincoln, 1 Sept. 1644), 170.
— xxiii. — Col. Walton (Sleaford, 6 or 5 Sept. 1644), 171.
— xxiv. — Sir T. Fairfax (Salisbury, 9 April 1645), 178. (*App.* iii. 340.)
— xxv. — Committee of Both Kingdoms (Bletchington, 25 April 1645), 181.
— Same (Farringdon, 28 April 1645), iii. 341 (*App.*).
— xxvi. — Governor R. Burgess (Farringdon, 29 April 1645), 183.
— xxvii. — the same, same date, 184.

Letter xxviii. To Sir T. Fairfax (Huntingdon, 4 June 1645), 185.
— By Express. To Deputy-Lieutenants of Suffolk (Cambridge, 6 June 1645), 187.
— xxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Harborough, 14 June 1645), 192.
— xxx. — Sir T. Fairfax (Shaftesbury, 4 Aug. 1645), 196.
— xxxi. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Bristol, 14 Sept. 1645), 198.
— xxxii. — Sir T. Fairfax (Winchester, 6 Oct. 1645), 205.
— xxxiii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Basingstoke, 14 Oct. 1645), 207.
— xxxiv. — Sir T. Fairfax (Wallop, 16 Oct. 1645), 212.
— xxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Salisbury, 17 Oct. 1645), 213.
— xxxvi. — T. Knyvett, Esq. (London, 27 July 1646), 221.
— xxxvii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 31 July 1646), 221.
— xxxviii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 10 Aug. 1646), 223.
— xxxix. — J. Rushworth, Esq. (London, 26 Aug. 1646), 225.
— xl. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 6 Oct. 1646), 226.
— xli. — Mrs. Ireton (London, 25 Oct. 1646), 227.
— xlii. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 21 Dec. 1646), 229.
— xliii. — the same (London 11 March 1646), 232.
— xliv. — the same (London, 19 March 1646), 234.
— xlv. — Archbishop of York (Putney, 1 Sept. 1647), 250.
— xlvi. — Col. Jones (Putney, 14 Sept. 1647), 252.
— xlvii. — Sir T. Fairfax (Putney, 13 Oct. 1647), 253.
— xlviii. — the same (Putney, 22 Oct. 1647), 254.
— xlix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Hampton Court, 11 Nov. 1647), 257.
— l. — Colonel Whalley (Putney, Nov. 1647), 258.
— li. — Dr. T. Hill (Windsor, 23 Dec. 1647), 259.
— lii. — Col Hammond (London, 3 Jan. 1647), 261.
— liii. — Col. Norton (London, 25 Feb. 1647), 264.
— liv. — Sir T. Fairfax (London, 7 March 1647), 266.
— lv. — Colonel Norton (Farnham, 28 March 1648), 268.
— lvi. — the same (London, 3 April 1648), 270.
— lvii. — Col. Hammond (London, 6 April 1648), 272.
Letter lviii. To Colonel Kenrick (London, 18 April 1648), 273.
— lix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Pembroke, 14 June 1648), 282.
— lx. — Major Saunders (Pembroke, 17 June 1648), 284.
— lxi. — Lord Fairfax (Pembroke, 28 June 1648), 287.
— lxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Pembroke, 11 July 1648), 290.
— lxiii. — Lancashire Committee (Preston, 17 Aug. 1648), 294.
— lxiv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Warrington, 20 Aug. 1648), 301.
— lxv. — York Committee (Warrington, 20 Aug. 1648), 308.
— lxvi. — the same (Wigan, 23 Aug. 1648), 309.
— lxvii. — O. St. John, Esq. (Knaresborough, 1 Sept. 1648), 312.
— lxviii. — Lord Wharton (Knaresborough, 2 Sept. 1648), 315.
— lxix. — Lord Fairfax (Alnwick, 11 Sept. 1648), 318.
— lxx.— Governor of Berwick (Alnwick, 15 Sept. 1648), 319.
— lxxi. — Marquis of Argyle, and the well-affected Lords now in arms in Scotland (near Berwick, 16 Sept. 1648), 320.
— lxxii. — Committee of Estates (near Berwick, 16 Sept. 1648), 321.
— lxxiii. — Earl Loudon (Cheswick, 18 Sept. 1648), 323.
— lxxiv. — Committee of Estates (Norham, 21 Sept. 1648), 327.
— lxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Berwick, 2 Oct. 1648), 329.
— lxxvi. — Lord Fairfax (Berwick, 2 Oct. 1648), 332.
— lxxvii. — Committee of Estates (Edinburgh 5 Oct. 1648), 334.
— lxxviii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dalhousie, 8 Oct. 1648), 336.
— lxxix. — the same (Dalhousie, 9 Oct. 1648), 337. (*App.* iii. 363.)
— lxxx. — Governor Morris (Pontefract, 9 Nov. 1648), 340.
— lxxxi. — Derby-House Committee (Knottingley, near Pontefract, 15 Nov. 1648), 341.
— lxxxii. — Jenner and Ashe (Knottingley, 20 Nov. 1648), 344.
— lxxxiii. — Lord Fairfax (Knottingley, 20 Nov. 1648), 347.
— lxxxiv. — T. St. Nicholas, Esq. (Knottingley, 25 Nov. 1648), 348.
— lxxxv. — Col. Hammond (Knottingley, 25 Nov. 1648), 349.
— lxxxvi. — Master and Fellows of Trinity Hall, Cambridge (London, 18 Dec. 1648), 357.

Letter lxxxvii. To Rev. Robinson (London, 1 Feb. 1648), 365.
— lxxxviii.-xc. — R. Mayor, Esq., on Richard Cromwell's Marriage (12 Feb. to 8 March 1648), 367, 370.
— xci. — Dr. Love (London, 14 March 1648), 372.
— xcii.-xcvi. — R. Mayor, Esq., on Richard Cromwell's Marriage (14 March 1648 to 15 April 1649), 374-380.
— xcvii. — Hon. Sir James Harrington (London, 9 July 1649), 392.
— xcviii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (London, 10 July 1649), 393.
— xcix. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Bristol, 19 July 1649), 395.
— c. — the same (Milford Haven, 13 Aug. 1649), 397.
— ci. — Mrs. R. Cromwell (Milford Haven, 13 Aug. 1649), 398.
— cii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dublin, 22 Aug. 1649), 400.
— ciii. — Governor of Dundalk (Tredah, 12 Sept. 1649), 409.
— civ. — President Bradshaw (Dublin, 16 Sept. 1649), 410.
— cv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dublin, 17 Sept. 1649), 411.
— cvi. — the same (Dublin, 27 Sept. 1649), 417.
— cvii. — the same (Wexford, 14 Oct. 1649), 420.

Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. II.)
— cviii.-cxi. — Siege of Ross (17-19 Oct. 1649), 3-6.
— cxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Ross, 25 Oct. 1649), 7.
— cxiii. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Ross, 13 Nov. 1649), 10.
— cxiv. — Hon. Thomas Scott (Ross, 14 Nov. 1649), 11.
— cxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Ross, 14 Nov. 1649), 13.
— cxvi. — the same (Waterford, Nov. 1649), 18.
— cxvii. — the same (Cork, 19 Dec. 1649), 22.
— cxviii. — Right Hon. Lord Wharton (Cork, 1 Jan. 1649), 26.
— cxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Castletown, 15 Feb. 1649), 49.
— cxx. — Governor of Cahir Castle (Cahir, 24 Feb. 1649), 53.
— cxxi. — President Bradshaw (Cashel, 5 March 1649), 54.
— cxxii.-cxxviii. Kilkenny Siege (22-27 March 1649-50), 55-63.
— cxxix. — Dublin Commissioners (Carrick-on-Suir, 1 April 1650), 64.
— cxxx. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 65.
Letter cxxxi. To R. Mayor, Esq. (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 71.
— cxxxii. — Richard Cromwell, Esq. (Carrick, 2 April 1650), 72.
— cxxxiii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (London, 20 June 1650), 86.
— cxxxiv. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Alnwick, 17 July 1650), 88.
— cxxxv. — President Bradshaw (Musselburgh, 30 July 1650), 91.
— cxxxvi. — General Assembly (Musselburgh, 3 Aug. 1650), 94.
— cxxxvii. — General Lesley (Camp at Pentland Hills, 14 Aug. 1650), 99.
— cxxxviii. — Council of State (Musselburgh, 30 Aug. 1650), 102.
— cxxxix. — Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 2 Sept. 1650), 106.
— cxl. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 114.
— cxli. — Hon. Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 121.
— cxlii. — President Bradshaw (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 122.
— cxliii. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 124.
— cxliv. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 124.
— cxlv. — Lieut.-Gen. Ireton (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 125.
— cxlvi. — Right Hon. Lord Wharton (Dunbar, 4 Sept. 1650), 127.
— cxlvii. — Governor Dundas (Edinburgh, 9 Sept. 1650), 131.
— cxlviii. — the same (Edinburgh, 12 Sept. 1650), 134.
— cxlix. — President Bradshaw (Edinburgh, 25 Sept. 1650), 142.
— cl. — Committee of Estates (Linlithgow, 9 Oct. 1650), 147.
— cli. — Col. Strahan (Edinburgh, 25 Oct. 1650), 150.
— clii. — Lord Borthwick (Edinburgh, 18 Nov. 1650), 153.
— cliii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 4 Dec. 1650), 154.
— cliv.-clx. Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 12-18 Dec. 1650), 158-165.
— clxi. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 24 Dec. 1650), 167.
— clxii. — Col. Hacker (Edinburgh, 25 Dec. 1650), 170.
— clxiii. — Gen. Lesley (Edinburgh, 17 Jan. 1650), 172.
— clxiv. — Committee of Estates (Edinburgh, 17 Jan. 1650), 175.
— clxv. — Committee of Army (Edinburgh, 4 Feb. 1650), 176.
— clxvi. — Rev. Dr. Greenwood (Edinburgh, 4 Feb. 1650), 180.
— clxvii. — the same (Edinburgh, 14 Feb. 1650), 182.

Letter clxviii. To Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 8 March 1650), 183.
— clxix. — the same (Edinburgh, 11 March 1650), 185.
— clxx. — President Bradshaw (Edinburgh, 24 March 1650), 187.
— clxxi. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Edinburgh, 12 April 1651), 188.
— clxxii. — Hon. A. Johnston (Edinburgh, 12 April 1651), 190.
— clxxiii. — Mrs. E. Cromwell (Edinburgh, 3 May 1651), 195.
— Hammond (Edinburgh, 3 May 1651), iii. 380 (*App.*).
— clxxiv. — President Bradshaw (Edinburgh, 3 June 1651), 197.
— clxxv. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Linlithgow, 21 July 1651), 199.
— clxxvi. — President Bradshaw (Dundas, 24 July 1651), 200.
— clxxvii. — the same (Linlithgow, 26 July 1651), 202.
— clxxviii. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Burntisland, 28 July 1651), 203.
— clxxix. — Hon. W. Lenthall (Burntisland, 29 July 1651), 205.
— clxxx. — the same (Leith, 4 Aug. 1651), 206.
— clxxxi. — Lord Wharton (Stratford-on-Avon, 27 Aug. 1651), 211.
— clxxxii. — Hon. W. Lenthall (near Worcester, 3 Sept. 1651), 214.
— clxxxiii. — the same (Worcester, 4 Sept. 1651), 215.
— clxxxiv. — Rev. J. Cotton (London, 2 Oct. 1651), 231.
— clxxxv. — Mr. Hungerford (London, 30 July 1652), 240.
— clxxxvi. — A. Hungerford, Esq. (Cockpit, 10 Dec. 1652), 244.
— clxxxvii. — Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood (Cockpit, 1652), 245.
— clxxxviii. — Mr. Parker (Whitehall, 23 April 1653), 252.
— clxxxix. — Lieut.-General Fleetwood (Cockpit, 22 Aug. 1653), 281.
— cxc. — Committee of Customs (Cockpit, Oct. 1653), 283.
— cxci. — H. Weston, Esq. (London, 16 Nov. 1653), 284.
— cxcii. — R. Mayor, Esq. (Whitehall, 4 May 1654), 300.
— cxciii. — Lord Fleetwood (Whitehall, 16 May 1654), 301.
— cxciv. — Col. Alured (16 May 1654), 302.
— cxcv. — Sir T. Vyner (Whitehall, 5 July 1654), 304.

Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Vol. III.)
— cxcvi. To R. Bennet, Esq. (Whitehall, 12 Jan. 1654), 29.
Letter cxcvii. To Capt. Unton Crook (Whitehall, 20 Jan. 1654), 31.
— cxcviii. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 13 June 1655), 67.
— Edmund Waller (Whitehall, 13 June 1655), 403 (*App.*).
— cxcix. — Lord Fleetwood (Whitehall, 22 June 1655), 71.
— cc. — Secretary Thurloe (Whitehall, 28 July 1655), 74.
— cci. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 30 July 1655), 75.
— ccii. — the same (Whitehall, 13 Sept. 1655), 78.
— cciii. — Maryland Commissioners Whitehall, 26 Sept. 1655), 79.
— cciv. — Gen. Goodson (Whitehall, Oct. 1655), 87.
— ccv. — D. Serle, Esq. (Whitehall, Oct. 1655), 89.
— ccvi. — Gen. Fortescue (Whitehall, Nov. 1655), 90.
— ccvii. — Henry Cromwell (Whitehall, 21 Nov. 1655), 94.
— ccviii. — the same (Whitehall, 21 April 1656), 99.
— ccix. — Generals Blake and Montague (Whitehall, 28 April 1656), 100.
— ccx. — the same (Whitehall, 6 May 1656), 102.
— ccxi. — Gresham-College Committee (Whitehall, 9 May 1656), 105.
— ccxii. — Richard Cromwell (Whitehall, 29 May 1656), 106.
— ccxiii. — Henry Cromwell (Whitehall, 26 Aug. 1656), 112.
— ccxiv. — Generals Blake and Montague (Whitehall, 28 Aug. 1656), 113.
— ccxv. — Mayor of Newcastle (Whitehall, 18 Dec. 1656), 157.
— ccxvi. — Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 26 Dec. 1656), 160.
— ccxvii. — Parliament (Whitehall, 25 Dec. 1656), 172.
— ccxviii. — Gen. Blake (Whitehall, 10 June 1657), 254.
— ccxix. — Gen. Montague (Whitehall, 11 Aug. 1657), 257.
— ccxx. — J. Dunch, Esq. (Hampton Court, 27 Aug. 1657), 257.
— ccxxi. — Gen. Montague (Hampton Court, 30 Aug. 1657), 258.
— ccxxii. — Sir W. Lockhart (Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1657), 260.
— ccxxiii. — Sir W. Lockhart (Whitehall, 31 Aug. 1657), 262.
— ccxxiv. — Gen. Montague (Whitehall, 2 Oct. 1657), 264.
— ccxxv. — Sir W. Lockhart (Whitehall, 26 May 1658), 307.

Letters of Oliver Cromwell. (In Appendix, Vol. III.)
— Mr. H. Downhall (Huntingdon, 14 Oct. 1626), 323.
— Mr. Hand (Ely, 13 Sept. 1638), 326.
— Mayor of Cambridge (London, 8 May 1641), 329.
— Deputy-Lieutenants of Norfolk (Cambridge, 26, 27 Jan. 1642), 331, 332.
— Sir Samuel Luke (8 March 1643), 339.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Lincoln, 29 July 1643), 333.
— Sir John Wray (Eastern Association, 30 July 1643), 336.
— Sir T. Fairfax (Bletchington, 24 April 1645), 340.
— Committee of Both Kingdoms (Farringdon, 28 April 1645), 341.
— Capt. Underwood (Huntingdon, 6 June 1645), 347.
— A Worthy Member of the House of Commons (Langport, July 1645), 348.
— Mayor of Winchester (28 Sept. 1645), 350.
— Colonel Cicely (Tiverton, 10 Dec. 1645), 346.
— Hon. Sir D. North (London, 30 March 1647), 347.
— Hon. W. Lenthall, on Army Troubles (Saffron Walden, 3, 8, 17 May 1647), 351, 353.
— Carmarthen Committee (Pembroke, 9 June 1648), 355.
— Hon. R. Herbert (Pembroke, 18 June 1648), 355.
— Colonel Hughes (Pembroke, 26 June 1648), 354.
— Mayor, &c. of Haverfordwest (12 July 1648), 356.
— the same (14 July 1648), 357.
— Derby-House Committee (Wigan, 23 Aug. 1648), 358.
— Committee of Derby House (Norham, 20 Sept. 1648), 360.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Boroughbridge, 28 Oct. 1648), 363.
— Waterford Correspondence (21-24 Nov. 1649), 364-367.
— Lieut.-General Farrell (Cork, 4 Jan. 1649), 368.
— Colonel Phayr (Fethard, 9 Feb. 1649), 373.
— John Sadler, Esq. (Cork, 31 Dec. 1649), 370.
— Hon. Sir A. Haselrig (Dunbar, 5 Sept. 1650), 374.
— the same (Edinburgh, 9 Sept. 1650), 375.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 28 Dec. 1650), 376.
— the same (Glasgow, 25 April 1651), 377.
— Hon. Major-General Harrison (Edinburgh, 3 May 1651), 380.
To Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 10 May 1651), 377.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Edinburgh, 13 June 1651), 378.
— Mayor of Doncaster (Ripon, 18 Aug. 1651), 382.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Evesham, 8 Sept. 1651), 383.
— the same (Chipping Norton, 8 Sept. 1651), 384.
— Elizabeth Cromwell (Cockpit, 15 Dec. 1651), 385.
— Sequestration Committee (Cockpit, Dec. 1651), 386.
— Dr. Greenwood of Oxford (Cockpit, 12 April 1652), 387.
— Lord Wharton (Cockpit, 30 June 1652), 390.
— Dr. Walton (Whitehall, 16 May 1653), 392.
— Lieut.-Col. Mitchell (Whitehall, 18 May 1653), 392.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Westminster, 19 June 1653), 393.
— Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke (Whitehall, 2 Sept. 1653), 394.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 26 Jan. 1653), 395.
— Mayor of Lynn Regis (Whitehall, 30 Jan. 1653), 395.
— Sir J. Wilde (Whitehall, 24 March 1654), 400.
— Mayor of Gloucester (Whitehall, 24 March 1654), 401.
— Cardinal Mazarin (Whitehall, 29 June 1654), 396.
— Hon. W. Lenthall (Whitehall, 22 Sept. 1654), 398.
— the same (Whitehall, 5 Oct. 1654), 399.
— President of Rhode Island (Whitehall, 29 March 1655), 404.
— Captain J. Leverett (Whitehall, 3 April 1655), 405.
— Colonel A. Cox (Whitehall, 24 April 1655), 406.
— Edmund Waller (Whitehall, 13 June 1655), 403.
— Col. H. Brewster (Whitehall, 26 Oct. 1655), 407.
— Vice-Chancellor of Oxford (Whitehall, 3 July 1657), 411.
— Bailiffs of Oswestry (Whitehall, 13 July 1657), 412.
— Mayor of Gloucester (Whitehall, 2 Dec. 1657), 412.
— Col. Cox (Whitehall, 4 Feb. 1657), 413.
— Commanders of Gloucester Militia (Whitehall, 11 March 1657), 414.
— Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (Whitehall, 28 May 1658), 415.

To Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge (Whitehall, 22 June 1658), 416.

Levellers described, i. 256; Arnald shot, 259; remarks on, 383-385; routed at Burford, 388.
Leven, Earl of. See Lesley, Alexander.
Leverett, Capt., Cromwell's letter to, iii. 405.
Libberton, Lord, killed at Dunbar, ii. 118.
Liberty of the people, i. 72.
Lilburn, Col. Robert, in Lancashire, i. 287; routs Earl Derby, ii. 209; and Bear Park, 183; deputy Major-General, iii. 80 n.
Lilburn, John, account of, i. 99; his brothers, 225; accuses Cromwell, 263; his pamphlets, 378; death of, iii. 265.
Lincoln Committee, Cromwell's letter to, i. 131.
Lincolnshire in 1643, i. 128, 130, 156-158.
Lisle, Lord Viscount, in Council of State, i. 373; ii. 285 n.; 296 n.; at Installation, iii. 256.
Lisle, Mr., in Council of State, i. 373; Keeper of Great Seal, iii. 64.
Lisle, Sir George, shot, i. 310.
Lists :—of Cromwell family, i. 19 n., 24, 25 n., 62 n.; of the Eleven Members, 246 n.; of Officers slain at Tredah, 418; of Little Parliament, ii. 254; of Council of State, 1653, 285 n.; 1654, 296, 297 n.; of Long Parliament, 363-383; of Cromwell's First Parliament, 307, 308; of Major-General's, iii. 80 n.; of Cromwell's estates, 107 n.; of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Livingston, Rev. James, notice of, by Cromwell, ii. 156; his descendants, 157.
Lloyd, Capt., sent to Generals Blake and Montague, iii. 101.
Locke, John, Tomb of, i. 89.
Lockhart, William, Ensign, i. 233; Col., wounded at Preston, 299; Ambassador to France, iii. 159; notice of, 259, 260; commands at Dunkirk, 265; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268; Cromwell's letters to, 260, 262, 307. See Sewster.
Lockier, Rev., preaches at Cromwell's Installation, ii. 287.
Lockyer, Trooper, shot, i. 385.
Loftus, Sir Arthur, notice of, ii. 17.
London City petitions for a Parliament, i. 95; for Reform of Bishops, 96, 109; helps Long Parliament to raise army, 111; fortified, 1643, 134; armies fitted out by, 173; petitions for peace, 229; new militia ordinance, 239; shops shut, 147, 246, 247; averse to Cromwell party, 274; lends money, 380; Preacher recommended for, ii. 305; Cromwell entertained by, iii. 14; will resist Cromwell's enemies, 300.
Loudon, Chancellor, in danger, i. 93; Cromwell's letter to, 323; character of, 326.
Love, Dr., Cromwell's letter to, i. 372.
Love, Rev. Christopher, notice of, i. 165; 373; his treason, ii. 196; condemned, 198; executed, 209.
Lowestoff, affair at, i. 121.
Lowry, John, notice of, i. 393, 394; iii. 328.
Lucas, Sir Charles, shot, i. 310.
Ludlow, General, Memoirs of Cromwell, i. 16; Cromwell's remark to, 239; notes Cromwell's ill success, 274; at trial of Charles I., 357; of Council of State, 363; Deputy of Ireland, ii. 75; Cromwell's conversation with, 84; and Cromwell, scene with, 235; Republican, lives in Essex, iii. 97, 317.
Lumsden, Col., killed at Dunbar, ii. 118.
Lunsford, Col., described, i. 109.
Lydcot, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, ii. 200.
Lyttleton, Lord, his running off with Great Seal, ii. 178.

Mace, of the Commons, the, a bauble, ii. 250.
Mackworth, Col., in Council of State, ii. 297 n.; account of, iii. 110 n.
Maidston, John, on Cromwell, i. 16, 346.
Maidstone fight, i. 286.
Maine, Zachary, notice of, iii. 387.
Mainwaring censured, i. 57.
Major-Generals, the, iii. 62, 133-135, 143; list of, 80 n.; abolished, 153, 170.
Maleverer, Col., Cromwell's letter in behalf of his Family, iii. 376.
Malevrier, Lord, Royalist, iii. 61.
Manasseh Ben Israel, learned Jew, iii. 96.
Manchester, Earl, Seargeant-Major of Associated Counties, i. 146; and Gen. Crawford, 162, 164; to reform Cambridge University, 162; quarrels with Cromwell, 174, 175; one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Mandevil, Lord, dispute with Cromwell, i. 100. See Manchester, Earl.
Manning, Mr., spy, iii. 62, 128.
Manton, Mr., preaches at Installation, iii. 256.
Mardike taken, iii. 263.
Marston Moor. See Battle.
Marten Henry, M. P., of Council of State, i. 363; character of, ii. 227; a lewd liver, 250.

Martyn, Sir Thomas, of Cambridge Committee, i. 118.
Maryland and Virginia, differences between, iii. 29; Cromwell's letter to Commissioners of, 79.
Masham Family, notice of, i. 89.
Masham, Sir William, in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307.
Mass, Cromwell on the, ii. 40.
Massey, Gen., how to be employed, i. 222; forces disbanded, 224; character of, 224; enlists soldiers, 247; purged by Pride, 356; with Scots, ii. 198; wounded at Worcester, 212.
Mathews, Col., delinquent, i. 345, 346.
Maurice, Prince, quits England, i. 215; drowned, ii. 12.
Maynard, Mr., one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Mayor, Richard, Esq., character of, i. 263; letters from Cromwell to, 367, 369, 370, 374, 377, 379, 380, 395, 397; ii. 10, 71, 88, 124, 203, 300; in Little Parliament, 255; of Customs Committee, 282; in Council of State, 285 n., 296 n.
Mazarin, Giulio, Cardinal, policy of, iii. 159; Cromwell's letters to, 160, 393, 395, 396; his opinion of Cromwell, 263.
Meg, Muckle, in Edinburgh Castle, ii. 167 n.
Members, the Five, i. 110; the Eleven, 235; accused by Army, 245; list of, 246 n.; last appearance of, 247.
Middleton, Gen., at Preston fight, i. 293; for Charles II., ii. 149; Rebellion in Highlands, 220, 301.
Mildmay, Sir Henry, quarrels with Lord Wharton, i. 314.
Militia, Ordinance of, i. 111; new, 239.
Milton, John, entry of his burial, i. 43; pamphlets by, 97; appointed Latin Secretary, 373; Sir H. Vane, friend of, ii. 227; blind, 296; iii. 65; letter by, 304.
Milton, State Papers criticised, i. 67; ii. 277.
Ministers of Edinburgh and Cromwell, ii. 129-141.
Mitchell, Col., Cromwell's letter to, iii. 392.
Mitton, Col., in Wales, i. 250.
Model, New, of the Army, i. 173, 177 n., 187, 189, 193.
Monarchy, Fifth, described, ii. 315; plot, iii. 185.
Monk, Col. George, in the Tower, i. 165; in Ireland, 252; in Scots War, ii. 87, 110, 117; at Edinburgh, 164; made Lieut.-General of Ordnance, 192; sent to Stirling, 207; storms Dundee, 219; puts down rebellion in the Highlands, 220, 301; in Dutch War, 238, 247; Army mutinous, iii. 30.
Monopoly, of soap, &c., i. 60.
Monro, Gen., in Scots Army, i. 290; his motions, 311; rejected at Edinburgh, 319.
Montagu, Dr., censured, i. 57.
Montague family, i. 51.
Montague, Lord, a Puritan, i. 48.
Montague (Earl of Sandwich), Colonel of the Parliament foot, i. 186; at Bristol siege, 199, 200; receives King at Hinchinbrook, 240; in Little Parliament, ii. 254; of Customs Committee, 282; in Council of State, 285 n., 296 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; made Admiral, iii. 85; Cromwell's letters to, 100, 102, 113, 257, 258, 264; on Committee of Kingship, 178; assists the French, 219, 259; at Installation, 256; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Montgomery, Col. Robert, notice of, i. 336; Major-General in Scots Army, ii. 92, 93, 155 n., 176.
Montrose, Earl, in Scots Army, i. 94; routed in Scotland, 214; taken and executed, ii. 83.
Moray House, Edinburgh, Cromwell at, i. 333.
Mordington, Cromwell at, i. 326, 329; ii. 89; incident at, 90.
Morgan, Mr., to be taken, i. 284.
Morris, Governor of Pontefract Castle, i. 340; Cromwell's letter to, 340.
Mosstroopers, Watt and Augustin, ii. 152; routed by Col. Hacker, 169.
Mulgrave, Earl, i. 316; in Council of State, ii. 297 n.; one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Musical Entertainment at Cromwell's, iii. 168.
Musselburgh, Cromwell at, ii. 92, 97, 103; Cromwell's Army in, 192.

Naseby described, i. 189; iii. 344. See Battle.
Navigation Act, ii. 237.
Nayler, James, worshipped, iii. 26, 81; punished, 171, 172.
Neal, on Cromwell, iii. 105.
Neile, Bishop, and Popery, i. 57; Parliament about to accuse, 58.
Newark, designs on, i. 131, 134.
Newbury. See Battle.
Newcastle, Earl, helps the King, i. 111; his Popish Army, 130; besieges Hull, 150, 152; retires disgusted, 169.
Newcastle, Mayor of, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 157.
Newhall estate, iii. 106.
Newmarket rendezvous. See Army.

Newport, Negotiations at, i. 332, 343.
New Year's Day, when. See Year.
Nicholas, Capt., at Chepstow, i. 285.
Noble's Memoirs criticised, i. 15.
Norham, situation of, i. 329.
North, Sir Dudley, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 347.
Norton, Col. Richard, serves under Earl Manchester, i. 146; notice of, 263, 269; Cromwell's letters to, 264, 268, 270; purged by Pride, 364; in Little Parliament, ii. 255; in Council of State, 285 n.
Nottingham, Charles I. erects his standard at, i. 106; ii. 209.
Nova Scotia, occupied for Cromwell, iii. 405.
Noy, Attorney, conduct of, in 1632, i. 64; his advancement, death, and dissection, 65, 66.

Oblivion and remembrance, i. 8.
O'Bryen, Barnabas, notice of, i. 391.
Officers, one hundred, remonstrate with Cromwell on Kingship, iii. 174.
Okey, Col., taken at Bristol siege, i. 199; at Inverkeithing fight, ii. 200; Republican, 303.
Oldenburg, Duke, his present to Cromwell, iii. 27.
O'Neil, Henry, joins Ormond, ii. 8.
O'Neil, Hugh, Governor of Clonmel, ii. 74.
O'Neil, Owen Roe, character of, i. 416.
Onslow, Sir Richard, in Kingship Committee, iii. 211.
Order to Keeper of St. James's Library, i. 368.
Ordinance of Militia. See Militia.
Ordinance, Self-denying, i. 173, 177.
Ordinances of Cromwell, ii. 297, 298.
Ormond, Earl, Irish levied by, i. 224; character of, 251; strong in Ireland, 367; routed by Jones, 397; at Wexford, 430; at Ross, ii. 4; plotting in England, iii. 275, 294, 300.
Oswestry, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 412.
Otes, described, i. 89.
Otley, Col., at disbanding of Rump, ii. 251.
Ouse river, i. 79.
Overbury poisoned, i. 38.
Overton, Col., Governor of Hull, i. 255; in Scots War, ii. 87, 117; at Inverkeithing, 199, 200; Republican, 303; sent to the Tower, iii. 30.
Overton, Richard, a Leveller, i. 378.
Owen, Col., Sir John, in Wales, i. 250; delinquent, 343, 345.
Owen, Dr., in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307; preaches to Second Parliament, iii. 117.
Oxford, Charles I. at, i. 125; surrendered, 214; Cromwell, &c. feasted at, 389.
Oxford University reformed, ii. 179; Cromwell Chancellor of, 180; Cromwell and, iii. 338, 411.

Pack, Sir Christopher, motion by, iii. 174.
Packer, Lieut.-Col., notice of, i. 162, 163.
Pamphlets on Civil War, King's, i. 3-5, 97.
Paper, blotting, not in use, i. 230 n.
Papist Army, Newcastle's, i. 130.
Papist Monuments destroyed, i. 134.
Papists, to be hanged, i. 169; cruelties in Ireland, 429; ii. 31; against Protestants, iii. 279-281.
Parker, Mr., Cromwell's letter to, ii. 252.
Parliament, Third, of Charles I., i. 52; is Puritan, 52; its Petition of Right, 52; doings of, 53; Alured's letter about, 54; prorogued, 56; dissolved, 58; holds down the Speaker, 59; conduct after, 60; Short, summoned 1640, 94; dissolved, 94; Long, summoned 3d Nov. 1640, 95; sketch of, 95; votes against Bishops, 96; secures the Militia, 106; grand Petition of, 109; Charles I. attempts to seize Five Members, 110; goes to City for refuge, 110; how it raises army, 111; affairs in July 1643, 146; takes the Scots Covenant, Sept. 1643, 151; affairs in 1644, 173; disagreement of Generals, 174; affairs prosper, 215; new Members elected (Recruiters), 216; Army turns on it, 234, 235; declares against Army, 237; votes lands to Cromwell, 265; number of Members in 1648, 269 (see Members); purged by Pride, 355 (see Rump); new one to be elected, ii. 228, 242; difficulties in choosing, 247; Little, summons for, 253; members of, 255; meets 4th July 1653, 256; failure of, 280; doings and resignation of, 284-286; Long, List of, 363-383; First Protectorate, assembles 3d Sept. 1654, 207, 308; unsuccessful, iii. 3; signs the Recognition, 24; doings of, 25, 26; dissolved, 55; Second Protectorate, assembles 17th Sept. 1656, 117; doings in Sindercomb's Plot, 163; doings of, 167-171; offers Cromwell title of King, 174, &c.; presses him to accept the title, 182; second session of, 266; the two Houses disagree, 276; dissolved, 299.
Pass, form of, in 1649, i. 366.
Paul's, St., Cross described, i. 58; Cathedral, a horseguard, i. 386.

Peak, Sir Robert, taken at Basing, i. 208.
Pembroke besieged by Cromwell, i. 281, 290.
Pembroke, Earl, sent to Charles I., i. 223 ; Chancellor of Oxford, ii. 179.
Penn, Admiral, sails with the fleet, iii. 29 ; sent to the Tower, 78, 83-85.
Penn, Quaker, iii. 83.
Penruddock, Col., in arms, iii. 61 ; beheaded, 61 ; Cromwell's letters relative to, iii. 400, 401.
Perth surrenders, ii. 206.
Peterborough, Earl, notice of, i. 392.
Peters, Rev. Hugh, chaplain of train, i. 186 ; secretary to Cromwell, 206 ; his narrative of Basing, 209 ; at Putney, 248 ; at Pembroke, 282 ; in Ireland, 396 ; Cromwell to be King, ii. 219.
Petition, of Right, i. 52 ; altered, 57 ; London, 96, 238 ; Buckinghamshire, 107 ; Surrey, 286 ; of Officers, ii. 242 ; and Advice of Parliament, iii. 174, 248, 249, 252, 255.
Phayr, Col., at execution of Charles I., i. 358 ; at Cork, ii. 12 ; Cromwell's letter to, iii. 373.
Piccadilly, derivation of, iii. 248 n.
Pickering, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 200 ; at Basing, 207 ; his death and funeral, iii. 346.
Pickering, Sir Gilbert, in Council of State, ii. 285 n., 297 n.
Piedmont, persecution in, iii. 64, 69, 303.
Pierpoint, Mr., i. 314 ; Cromwell at his house, ii. 210 ; and Cromwell on Kingship, iii. 195.
Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536, i. 27.
Pinchbeck invented by Prince Rupert, ii. 12.
Pinkerton's stories of Cromwell, value of, ii. 148.
Plague, Army escapes, in 1645, i. 202.
Plate fleet, prize of, iii. 153.
Plot, Gunpowder, i. 36 ; of Army, 95, 106 ; Waller's, 141 ; by Rev. C. Love, &c., ii. 196 ; Anabaptist, 294 ; Royalist, 295, 303 ; iii. 59, 266, 275, 300 ; various Republican, ii. 303 ; iii. 39-44 ; Gerard's, ii. 304, 306 ; in the North, iii. 30 ; Penruddock's, 61 ; Sexby's, 111 ; Sindercomb's, 162 ; Venner's, 185, 186 ; Hewit and Slingsby's, 300, 301.
Politics and Religion in 1642, i. 115.
Pomfret. See Pontefract.
Pontefract, Cromwell at, i. 339.
Pope Alexander VII., Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 129.
Popery in 1623, i. 44 ; images of, destroyed, 134 ; Cromwell on, ii. 37 ; Cromwell to suppress, 41.
Popish States, War with, iii. 121-125.
Portuguese Treaty, ii. 299, 306 ; Ambassador's brother, 306 ; King, iii. 102-104.
Pott's, Sir John, letter to, i. 122.
Powel, Anabaptist, against Cromwell, ii. 294.
Powel, Presbyterian-Royalist Colonel, i. 281, 372.
Power, definition of, ii. 288.
Powick possessed by the Scots, ii. 213, 214.
Pownel, Major, at Preston fight, i. 294.
Poyer, Col., his doings in Wales, i. 281, 283 ; shot, 372.
Poyntz, General, enlists soldiers, i. 247 ; slashes the mob, 247.
Prayer-meeting, Windsor Castle, 1648, i. 275, &c.
Prayers for the Parliament Army, i. 184 ; an English troop interrupted at, ii. 103 ; Cromwell's last, iii. 318.
Preachers, triers of. See Triers.
Preaching, Cromwell on, ii. 135, 170 ; iii. 235.
Presbyterianism, Charles I. averse to, i. 165 ; and schism, 193 ; adopted by Parliament, 231 ; overthrown, 248. See Independents.
Presentation, Cromwell's, to Rectory of Houghton Conquest, iii. 397.
Preston, Dr., fame of, i. 47.
Preston. See Battle.
Pride, Colonel, summoned by Commons, i. 238 ; at Preston battle, 299 ; purges the Commons, 355 ; in Scots War, ii. 87, 117 ; would hang up the Lawyers' gowns, 118 n. ; one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Prince, Thomas, Leveller, i. 378.
Proclamation by Cromwell, 1648, i 49 ; after Dunbar fight, ii. 113 ; at Edinburgh, 141.
Protestation of Commons, 1641, i. 107 ; iii. 328-330.
Prussian Monarchy, founder of, iii. 280 n.
Prynne, William, first appearance of, i. 63 ; his Histriomastix, 63 ; in pillory in 1633, 65 ; again in 1637, 86 ; speech in pillory, 86 ; purged by Pride, 356 ; assists Dr. Hewit, iii. 301.
Puritan, Sermons, i. 9 ; history, 12 ; demands at Hampton Court Conference, 34 ; characteristic, 47 ; leaders, 48.
Puritanism, our last heroism, i. 3 ; faded, 9 ; Dryasdust on, 10 ; nature of, 70.
Puritans, English and Scots, i. 95 ; become formidable, 105.
Putney Church, Army-meeting at, i. 248.
Pym, John, M.P., a Puritan, i. 48 ; speech by, 54 ; lives at Chelsea, 108.

Quakerism, germ of, i. 385.

Quakers, first Scotch, ii. 173. See Nayler, Fox, Penn.
Queen of Charles I., doings by, i. 130.
Queries to Edinburgh clergy, ii. 139; of Scotch Western Army, 149.

Ragland Castle besieged, i. 222; surrenders, 215.
Rainsborough, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 199; deserted by the Fleet, 291; assassinated, 340.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, execution of, i. 42.
Raleigh's History, Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 73.
Ramsay, Rev. Robert, preaches before Cromwell, ii. 192.
Rawlins, Captain of Parliament horse, i. 186.
Recruiters, new Members of Parliament, i. 316.
Redbank, fight at, i. 299. See Preston.
Reformers, true, i. 72.
Remonstrance, against Buckingham, i. 55; against Laud, 58; and Petition of Ministers, 96; Grand, of Long Parliament, 109; of Scotch Western Army, ii. 149, 153, 156.
Resolutioner, Protester, ii. 157, 173.
Reynolds, Col., at Ferns, i. 420; surprises Carrick, ii. 19, 20; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 308; assists the French, iii. 219, 255, 259; death of, 265.
Ribble Bridge, fight at, i. 297. See Preston.
Rich, Col., in Scotland, ii. 206, 208.
Rich, Mr., and Frances Cromwell, iii. 108-110, 266; death of, 311.
Richmond, Duke, present to, i. 258.
Riots. See Apprentices.
Robinson, Luke, sent to Charles I., i. 223; turncoat, iii. 276.
Robinson, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's letter to, i. 365.
Rochester, Earl. See Wilmot.
Roghill, ii. 49.
Rolf, Major, accused, i. 314.
Rooksby, Major, killed at Dunbar, ii. 119.
Ross Town, besieged, ii. 3; taken, 7.
Rothes, Earl, taken at Worcester, ii. 216.
Rouse, Francis, Translator of the Psalms, i. 92; in Little Parliament, ii. 255; Speaker of Little Parliament, 286; of Council of State, 296 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307; one of Cromwell's Lords, iii. 268.
Rowe, Scoutmaster, character of, i. 320.
Royston, Rendezvous. See Army.
Rump, doings of the, ii. 226-229; must be dissolved, 248; dismissed by Cromwell, 250.
Rupert, Prince, his father dies, i. 63; plunderings of, in 1643, 117; nicknamed Robber, 150; relieves York, 166; routed at Marston Moor, 166; at Worcester, 1645, 180; at Naseby battle, 189; at Bristol, 197; manner of his leaving Bristol, 204; quits England, 215; in Irish seas, ii. 12.
Rushworthian chaos, i. 10, 53; ii. 87.
Rushworth, John, in danger at Naseby, i. 191; Cromwell's letter to, 225; with Cromwell in Scotland, ii. 87; reporter of Cromwell's Speech, iii. 294.
Russel, Francis, Henry Cromwell's father-in-law, i. 168, 269; purged by Pride, 364.

Sa, Don Pantaleon, beheaded, ii. 306.
Sadler, Adjutant, in Ireland, ii. 68.
Sadler, John, Cromwell's letter to, offering him Chief Justiceship in Munster, iii. 370.
Saffron Walden. See Army.
St. Abb's Head described, ii. 105.
St. Albans, Commission of Array at, i. 121. See Army.
St. Fagan's, fight at, i. 282.
St. George's Hill, Levellers at, i. 384.
St. Ives described, i. 77, 78.
St. James's Fields, scene in, i. 247; House, bestowed on Cromwell, ii. 53.
St. John, Oliver, character of, i. 88, 312; related to Cromwell, i. 89; is Solicitor-General, 98; Cromwell's letters to, 149, 312; with Cromwell at Aylesbury, ii. 218; character of, 227; at Conference at Speaker's, 232-234; ambassador to Holland, 237.
St. John, Mrs., Cromwell's letter to, i. 90.
St. Johnston (Perth) surrenders, ii. 206.
St. Neot's, fight at, i. 290.
St. Nicholas, Thomas, Cromwell's letter to, i. 348; account of, 349.
Salisbury, Levellers at, i. 387; insurrection at, iii. 60, 61.
Santa Cruz, Blake beats Spanish at, iii. 218.
Saunders, Col., notice of, i. 284; Cromwell's letter to, 284; in Scotland, ii. 202, 206.
Savoy, Duke of, persecutor, iii. 64.
Say and Sele, Lord, a Puritan, i. 48; in Church Commission, ii. 298.
Scot of Scotstarvet, notice of, i. 326; ii. 173 n.
Scots Committee of Estates, Cromwell's letters to, 321, 327, 334; ii. 147, 175; extinguished at Alyth, 219.
Scots, affairs in 1637, i. 87; Covenant, 87; affairs in 1639, 93; motions of their Army, 94; Declaration and proceedings of, in England, 95; demands,

97 ; assist English Parliament, 151 ; Army enters England, 1644, 160 ; at Marston Moor, 166, 167 ; Commissioners and Cromwell, 177 ; Army returns home, 219 ; Negotiations concluded, 229 ; proclaim Charles II., 431 ; assist Charles II., ii. 25 ; their Covenant in 1650, 81, 82, 146, 147 ; call in Charles II., 82 ; prepare to repel Cromwell, 89 ; Army skirmishes with Cromwell, 91, 92 ; how officered, 93 ; their poverty, &c., described, 97, 98 ; their Covenant commented on by Cromwell, 99 ; skirmish with Cromwell, 102 ; routed at Dunbar, 112, 113 ; Clergy and Cromwell, 129, 140 ; divisions among, 145, 157 ; at Stirling, levying forces, &c., 168 ; entrenched at Torwood, 198 ; invade England, 206, 208 ; routed at Worcester, 212-217 ; Cromwell's opinion of, iii. 289.
Scotland united to England, ii. 220.
Scott, Major Thomas, report by, i. 363 ; Cromwell's letter to, ii. 11 ; Republican, 298 ; does not sign the Recognition, iii. 25 ; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 117 ; excluded, 152 ; death of, 276.
Scoutmaster, office of. See Rowe.
Scroop, Col., pursues Scots, i. 306.
Seals, Great, new, &c., ii. 178, 179. See Commonwealth.
Sedgwick, Major-Gen., in Jamaica, iii. 86 ; in America, 404 ; death of, 93.
Selden, John, imprisoned, i. 59.
Serle, Daniel, Governor of Barbadoes, iii. 86 ; Cromwell's letter to, 89.
Sewster, Robina, family of, i. 233 ; married to Lockhart, iii. 260.
Sexby, Edward, Trooper, examined, i. 238 ; 100*l.* voted to, 307 ; his plottings, iii. 60, 111, 132, 162 ; his death, 266.
Shakspeare's death, i. 38.
Sherland, Parson, apprehended, iii. 95.
Shilbourn, Colonel, in Ireland, ii. 66.
Shipmoney, Writ of, i. 65. See Hampden.
Sidney, Col. Algernon, in Parliament Army, i. 186 ; in Rump Parliament, ii. 249.
Silence, nature of, i. 7.
Simes, Major, shot, ii. 65.
Sindercomb, Miles, character and plot of, iii. 162-164 ; poisons himself, 167.
Sinnott, Col. David, Governor of Wexford, negotiations with Cromwell, i. 421-428.
Skippon, Major-Gen., conveys Scots money, i. 230 ; in Council of State, ii. 296 n. ; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 307 ; a Major-General, iii. 80 n. ; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Slepe Hall described, i. 79.
Slingsby, Sir Henry, in arms, iii. 161 ; plot and execution of, 300-302.
Smectymnuus pamphlets, i. 97.
Societies, Printing. See Dryasdust.
Soldiers at sack of Basing, anecdotes of, i. 210.
Somers Tracts criticised, i. 67, 193 n. ; iii. 173.
Sorrow defined, i. 46.
South-Sea Island Queen, anecdote of, i. 359.
Southwark declares for Army, i. 247.
Spain, Alliance with, broken, i. 44 ; War with, 45 ; issue of, 45 ; War with, iii. 85, 89, 111 ; reasons for, 120-123.
Speech, Oliver Cromwell's first, i. 57.
Speeches, how to read Cromwell's, i. 68 ; fragments of, against Earl Manchester and present Parliament commanders, 174-176.
Speeches of Oliver Cromwell.
I. Opening of the Little Parliament, 4 July 1653 : ii. 256-277.
II. Meeting of the First Protectorate Parliament, 4 Sept. 1654 : 309-326.
III. To the same Parliament, 12 Sept. 1654 : iii. 6-24.
IV. Dissolution of the First Protectorate Parliament, 22 Jan. 1654-5 : 35-55.
V. Meeting of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 17 Sept. 1656 : 118-151.
VI. To the same, 23 Jan. 1656-7 : 164-167.
VII. To the same, 31 March 1657 : 176-178.
VIII. To a Committee of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 3 April 1657 : 179-181.
IX. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8 April 1657 : 182-185.
X. Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine in regard to the title of King, 11 April 1657 : 188-195.
XI. Second Conference with the same, 13 April 1657 : 197-211.
XII. Third Conference with the same, 20 April 1657 : 212-218.
XIII. Fourth Conference with the same, 21 April 1657 : 220-248.
XIV. To the Second Protectorate Parliament in a body, 8 May 1657: 249-251.
['XV.' should be] To the Second Protectorate Parliament, 25 May 1657 : 409.
XV. To the same, 9 June 1657, on the presentation of some Bills for assent : 254.
XVI. To the Two Houses of Parliament ; Opening of the Second Session of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 20 Jan. 1657-8 : 269-274.

XVII. To the same Parliament, the Commons having raised debates as to the Title of the other House, 25 Jan. 1657-8 : 277-294.
XVIII. Dissolution of the Second Protectorate Parliament, 4 Feb. 1658 : 295-299.
Speldhurst Living, ii. 283.
Sports, Book of, burned, i. 134.
Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva*, i. 180 n.
Stamford, Earl, defeated, i. 145.
Stamford taken by Cromwell, i. 137.
Standard set up, Pamphlet, iii. 186, 211, 215.
Stapleton, Bryan, notice of, i. 320.
Stapleton, Sir Philip, Presbyterian, i. 237, 320. See Members, Eleven.
Stapylton, Rev. Robert, i. 321, 369 ; preaches in Edinburgh High Church, ii. 144.
Steward, Sir Thomas, Kt., death of, i. 83.
Stewart of Allertoun, ii. 194.
Stewart of Blantyre, duel with Lord Wharton, i. 314.
Stockings, anecdotes of, i. 38.
Stonyhurst, Cromwell at, i. 294.
Storie, Mr., notice of, i. 81 ; Cromwell's letter to, 80.
Strafford, Earl, subscribes 20,000*l.* to the King, i. 94 ; in the Tower, 98 ; trial, execution, and character, 107.
Strahan, Major, notice of, i. 326 ; in Scots Army, ii. 92, 101, 146 ; at Glasgow, 143 ; Remonstrance by, 149, 153 ; Cromwell's letter to, 150 ; joins Cromwell, 156 ; is excommunicated, 191.
Strickland, Walter, of Council of State, ii. 296 n., 308 ; iii. 157.
Strode, William, imprisoned, i. 59.
Subscription, Irish act of, ii. 43 n.
Suffolk, Cromwell's letters to Deputy Lieutenants of, i. 119, 187.
Suffolk, Earl, sent to Charles I., i. 223.
Suir River, castles on, ii. 54.
Summons, Parliamentary, ii. 253.
Sun, eclipse of, in 1652, ii. 237.
Surrey petition and riot, i. 286.
Sutton's Hospital. See Charter House.
Sweden, Whitlocke concludes treaty with, ii. 299.
Swedish Ambassador, audience of, iii. 76, 77 ; takes leave, 116.
Swinton, Laird, joins Cromwell, ii. 157 ; in Little Parliament, 255 ; in Cromwell's First Parliament, 308.
Sydenham, Col., in Council of State, ii. 297 n. ; iii. 64.
Syler, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, ii. 200.
Symonds, Mr., engraver, ii. 176-179.
Svnott, Col. See Sinnott.
Taaff, Father, killed, i. 415.
Taaff, Lucas, Governor of Ross, Cromwell's letters to, ii. 3-6.
Taaff, Lord, his intrigues, iii. 134, 134 n.
Tate, Zouch, M.P., introduces Self-denying Ordinance, i. 177.
Teme river, near Worcester, ii. 213.
Tempest, Sir Richard, Royalist, in Lancashire, i. 287.
Thearuo, John, a kind of Quaker, iii. 26.
Thomond, Earl. See O'Bryen.
Thompson, Capt., Leveller, i. 387 ; shot, 389.
Thompson, Cornet, Leveller, i. 387; shot, 388.
Thornhaugh, Major, Slain at Preston, i. 298, 304.
Thurloe, Secretary to Cromwell, ii. 296 ; Cromwell's letter to, iii. 74 ; and Cromwell on Kingship, 195.
Tillinghurst, Rev. Mr., and Cromwell, iii. 71, 72.
Tipperary county fined, ii. 52.
Titchborne, Alderman, of Customs Committee, ii. 282.
Titus, Capt., 50*l.* voted to, i. 240 ; with Charles I., 273 ; Killing no Murder, iii. 167 n.
Tonnage and Poundage disputed, i. 57.
Toope, and Sindercomb, iii. 163.
Trade, Committee of, iii. 97.
Treasury, Commissioners of, iii. 64 ; state of the, in 1656, 144.
Treaties, Cromwell's, ii. 299 ; iii. 76, 85.
Treaty, Ripon, i. 95 ; at Oxford, 125, 134 ; Uxbridge, 165 ; with the King, 222, 229, 239, 256, 332.
Tredah, garrison of, i. 409 ; stormed, 409, 412, 416 ; list of officers slain at, 418.
Trevor, Col., and Venables, ii. 15 n.; iii. 95.
Triers of preachers, ii. 297 ; iii. 66, 140.
Troopers, three, present Army-letter, i. 238, 239.
Tulchan Bishops, account of, i. 39.
Tunis, Dey of, brought to reason, iii. 67.
Turner, Rev. Mr., Cromwell's opinion of, ii. 305.
Turner, Sir James, narrative by, i. 293 ; wounded by his own men, 299, 300 ; prisoner, 310.
Tweedale, Earl of, on Committee of Kingship, iii. 178.
Twistleton, Col., at Dunbar, ii. 117.

Ulster pikes, ii. 24.
Underwood, Captain, Cromwell's letter to, iii. 347.
Uniformity in religion, i. 97, 231.
Urrey, Col. See Hurry.
Uttoxeter, capture of Scots at, i. 300.

Van Druske, Gen., taken, i. 304.
Vane, Sir Henry, jun., of Committee of Both Kingdoms, i. 181; of Council of State, 363; character of, ii. 227; a juggler, 250; a rejected M.P. candidate, iii. 113.
Vane, Sir Henry, sen., in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 308.
Varney, Sir Edmund, in Tredah, i. 410.
Varney, Sir Ralph, his Notes, i. 97.
Venables, Col., at Derry, i. 417; ii. 14, 16; made General, sails with fleet, iii. 28; sent to the Tower, 78, 83-85.
Venner, Cooper, rising by, iii. 186.
Vere family, Fairfax's wife of the, ii. 84.
Vermuyden, Col., notice of, i. 186.
Vicars's relation of Winceby fight, i. 156.
Villemain, M., criticised, i. 194.
Virginia and Maryland, differences between, iii. 29.
Voluntary principle, i. 231.
Vowel's plot, ii. 304, 306; iii. 396.
Vyner, Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor of London, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 304.

Wagstaff, Sir Joseph, in arms, iii. 61, 128. See Penruddock.
Wakefield, Lord Fairfax at, i. 135.
Waldenses, notice of the, iii. 64.
Wales, Prince of, Fleet revolts to, i. 291; at Yarmouth, 291.
Wales, tumults in, i. 281.
Walker, Clement, M.P., described, i. 265; purged by Pride, 356.
Wallace, Mr., his house in Edinburgh, ii. 165.
Waller, Poet, his plot, i. 141; Cromwell's letter to, iii. 403.
Waller, Sir Hardress, at Bristol siège, i. 200; wounded at Basing, 208.
Waller, Sir William, in high repute, i. 134; beaten at Lansdown heath, 145; his army deserts, 173; is Presbyterian, 237; deputed to Army, 238; purged by Pride, 356.
Wallop, Robert, M.P., notice of, i. 420 n.; in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307.
Walpole, Horace, collector of letters, i. 364.
Walton, Col., Cromwell's letters to, i. 167, 171; account of, 168; at trial of King, 357.
Walton, Dr., Cromwell's letter to, iii. 392.
Walwyn, William, Leveller, i. 378.
War, the Thirty-Years, i. 63; with Scots, 93; the Bishops', 94; Civil, commenced, 101; exciting cause of, 106; in 1643, 124; Second Civil, 281. See Dutch, Spain, Welsh.
Warrington, Scots surrender at, i. 300, 305.
Warriston. See Johnston, Archibald.
Warwick, Earl, notice of, iii. 108; at Installation, 256; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268; letter to Cromwell, 311.
Warwick, Sir Philip, his opinion of Cromwell, i. 88, 89.
Waterford, besieged, ii. 19; Cromwell's correspondence at, 23-25.
Waterhouse, John, recommended by Cromwell, ii. 182.
Watt, Mosstrooper, ii. 152.
Waugh, Rev. John, at Dunbar battle, ii. 113; description of, 173, 174.
Weimar, Bernhard of, in Thirty-Years War, i. 63.
Welden, Col., at Bristol siege, i. 199.
Wells, Rev. Mr., notice of, i. 82.
Welsh War, i. 281; and iii. 354; ended, i. 291.
Wentworth, Sir John, fined 1000*l.*, i. 123.
Wentworth, Sir Peter, in the Rump, ii. 249.
West, Col., at Inverkeithing fight, ii. 200.
Westminster Hall, riots in, i. 109, 286.
Weston, Henry, Cromwell's letter to, ii. 284.
Westrow, Tom, notice of, ii. 210, 211.
Wexford, besieged, i. 421; propositions for surrender of, 426; stormed, 429.
Whalley, Capt., at Cambridge, i. 119; Major, commended, 138, 139; meets the King, 240; guards the King, 256; at trial of King, 357; Commissary-General in Scots War, ii. 87; skirmishes with the Scots, 91, 92; wounded at Dunbar, 119; his letter to Governor Dundas, 130; in Fife, 205; at Conference at Speaker's, 232-234; removes the Mace, iii. 4; Major-General, 80 n.; on Committee of Kingship, 178; in favour of Kingship, 252; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268.
Wharton, Duke, character of, i. 317.
Wharton, Lord, a Puritan, i. 181, 261; his character, 314; ii. 26; Cromwell's letters to, i. 315; ii. 26, 127, 211; iii. 390.
Wharton, Manor-house, i. 314.
Whelocke, Abraham, the Orientalist, iii. 330.
Whiggamore raid, i. 311, 319.
Whitaker, Historian, mistake by, i. 34 n.
White, Major, at Dunbar, ii. 118.
Whitehall, Cromwell removes to, ii. 299.
Whitlocke, Bulstrode, of Council of State, i. 363; Cromwell's present to, ii. 218; at Conference at Speaker's, 232-234; Cromwell consults with, 243; goes to Sweden, 299; iii. 394; in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii.

307; his quarrel with Cromwell, iii. 64; in Cromwell's Second Parliament, 152; on Committee of Kingship, 178, 185; and Cromwell on Kingship, 195; at Installation, 256; one of Cromwell's Lords, 268; Cromwell's letter to, 394.
Widdrington, Sir Thomas, at Conference at Speaker's, ii. 232-234; Keeper of Great Seal, iii. 64; elected Speaker, 164; at Installation, 256.
Wigan Moor, Scots Army at, i. 298.
Wight, Isle of, Charles I. at, i. 258, 261.
Wilde, Chief Baron, notice of, iii. 400; Cromwell's letter to, 400.
Wildman, Major, in Cromwell's First Parliament, ii. 307; opposed to Cromwell, iii. 25; seized plotting, is put in Chepstow Castle, 60.
Williams, Archbishop of York, i. 109; notice of, 249; in Wales, 249; Cromwell's letter to, 250.
Williams, Sir Trevor, to be taken, i. 284.
Willingham, Mr., letter to, i. 96.
Willis, Sir Richard, notice of, ii. 306; spy, iii. 287.
Willoughby of Parham, Lord, at Gainsborough, i. 137; letter to Cromwell, 143; complained of, 161.
Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, escapes, iii. 62, 128.
Winceby. See Battle.
Winchester, Cromwell's summons to, iii. 350; taken, i. 206.
Winchester, Marquis of, taken at Basing, i. 208, 211.
Windebank, Col., shot, i. 183.
Windebank, Secretary, flies, i. 98.
Windsor Castle, Army-council at, i. 275.
Windsor, Parliament Army at, i. 125.
Winram, Laird, and Charles II., i. 431; ii. 25.
Winstanley, Leveller, i. 383.
Winwood, M.P. for Windsor, ii. 218.
Wither, Poet, notice of, ii. 210.
Wogan, Col., his maraudings, ii. 24, 25; iii. 369.
Wolseley, Sir Charles, in Council of State, ii. 297 n.; on Committee of Kingship, iii. 193, 195. See Worseley.
Worcester, Charles II. at, ii. 210,—see Battle: state of, after Battle, 217; iii. 383.
Worcester, Marquis, his lands given to Cromwell, i. 265; author of *Century of Inventions*, 265; ii. 189.
Worseley, Col., a Major-General, iii. 80 n.
Wray, Sir John, notice of, iii. 335; Cromwell's letter to, 336.
Wyatt, Sir Dudley, notice of, i. 259, 260.

Year's Day, New, difference of style, i. 34 n.
York, City, relieved by Prince Rupert, i. 166; captured by Parliament Army, 169.
York, Duke of, escapes, i. 230; at Dunkirk, iii. 264.
York House, meeting at, iii. 294.
Yorke, Hon. Mr., papers burned, i. 261.
Yorkshire, the Civil War in, i. 125.

Zanchy, Col., relieves Passage, ii. 23; wounded, 54.

THE END.

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
BREAD STREET HILL, E.C.; AND
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.